

THE
CHARACTER
OF
QUEEN ELIZABETH



J. Short sculp.

22 - 8 - 8

THE
CHARACTER
OF

Queen Elizabeth.

OR,

A Full and Clear ACCOUNT
of Her Policies, and the Methods of
Her Government both in CHURCH
and STATE.

Her VIRTUES and DEFECTS.

Together with

The CHARACTERS of Her Principal
Ministers of State. And the greatest part
of the Affairs and Events that Happened in
Her Times.

Collected and Faithfully Represented,
By EDMUND BOHUN, Esquire.

Semper eadem.

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Church-Yard. MDCXCIII.



TO THE
KING and QUEEN.

May it please Your Majesties,



Here present you
with the Noble
Character and
lively Represen-
tation of the
Greatest Princess that ever
sway'd this or any other Scep-
ter. A Princess, whose Na-
A 3 tural

The Epistle Dedicatory.

tural Endowments, and Acquired Abilities, made her the Envy, or the Example, of all the Crowned Heads about her; whose Fame filled the World whilst she lived, and the Histories of all Countries since she died. In Persia they had heard of the Maiden Queen, before they knew the Name of England. And the Sophi asked our first Merchant that went thither, if his Country was not governed by a Maid; and upon his Reply It was so, enquired no further. Her Religion and her Morals, her Publick and her Private Conversation with her Courtiers, her
Bed-

The Epistle Dedicatory,

Bed-chamber Women, her Maids of Honour, her Friends and Relations, are all accurately described in this small Piece, and must needs yield great pleasure to Your MAJESTIES to read or hear them at convenient times.

The Great Things she did, and the Ways, Means and Instruments she employed under her to bring them into Act, are very divertising and instructive: Nor will it be any diminution of the Glory of Your Reigns, that in some things you followed the Example of this Wise and Illustrious Queen.

The Epistle Dedicatory.

*I know Your Royal Cares
are great, and therefore I shall
not presume to rob you of any
more of Your precious Minutes
than is requisite to beg Your
favourable Acceptance of this
bounden Duty of*

Feb. 6.
169³/₄.

Your Majesties most Loyal

Servant and Subject,

Edmund Bobun.

T H E

P R E F A C E.

I Am bound in the first place to acquaint my Reader, That the Learned *Johnston*, a Scotch Physician, is the Principal Author I have followed in this Piece; for I would not translate him: To what I found there, I have added what I could light upon that was pertinent to my purpose in the Histories of those Times: So that I am persuaded, it cost me as much pains and time, as it cost him at first to write it. I took the liberty also to use my own Language, and Thoughts, as well as Judgment,

The P R E F A C E.

ment, in the whole; adding and diminishing, as I thought fit, though never without Reason, or good Authority.

In such a Work as this, things ought to be delivered without any order of time, things of the same nature being laid together; So that this is not intended so much for a regular Story of those Times, as a Collection of Examples, that others may thereby be instructed what to chuse or avoid, what to commend or blame, what had a good, or an ill event.

Truth is as well the soul of a good *Character*, as of an *History*; to commend without cause or above measure, is the part of a *PANEGYRICK*; but it rendereth a *Character*, or an *History*, suspected and odious. I love the Name and Memory of this Generous

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rous Queen as much as any man living; but it could not bribe me to represent her otherwise than she was: The mixing the Faults of great Persons with their Virtues, abates the Envy of Mankind, and purchaseth a kind and ready Acceptance of the whole. A Lying Satyr is full as odious as a Flattering Panegyrick: If I were worthy to have my Story written, or my Picture drawn, I should wish they might be equally true, and represent both my Life, and my Face, just such as they were.

It is not impossible some may be offended with the Truth of this Little Piece; but they must know, I have no other share in it, than the collecting things that lay dispersed before, and the representing them as I found them (I hope I have no-where Censured
or

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or Commended any thing above the truth; but if I have, upon admonition I shall endeavour to amend it. As the Persons mentioned in it. were all dead before I was born, so I cannot be suspected to be guilty of Love or Hatred, but what was the result of their Virtues, or their Vices: If I would not spare the Queen, there was no reason I should spare any of her Courtiers; and when any of our Nobility find any of their Ancestors did ill things, and they are represented in Story; let them remember, the Princes of those times had their Faults too, and they are as freely written. Let them think also, Thus it will be with us; Infamy or Oblivion will cover our memories when we are dead, if we do not live well. It is only Virtue that can render a Name illustrious in the Annals of
of

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of time, though great Estates and swelling Titles may make a man seem great on this side the Grave : And Posterity will be no more able to drown the Vices of this present Age, than they are to prevent the knowledge of those that are past. As a bad Face quarrels a true Looking-Glass, so a bad Liver hates a true Historian, and both equally without just cause.

There has nothing more Eclipsed the Glory of Queen *Elizabeth*, than the want of a good History of her Reign in *English*. *Cambden* is good in the Original, but too short; but the Version of that Author is intolerably bad ; would any good Pen do that by her *Annals*, which I have done here by her *Character*, it would be a grateful Tribute paid to Her Sacred Memory. Would our Great Men live in the Memory of the World? why
let

The P R E F A C E:

let them promote the History of their Countrey, and that will make their Names famous to Posterity. *Mæcenæ*s is oftener remembered for his bounties to Learning, than for all his other Expences and Gallantry, of which perhaps it was not the hundredth part.

No Nation in *Europe* hath exceeded the *English* in Martial Bravery; but for want of good History, much of the Honour of our Ancestors is lost both at home and abroad. I would be contented to die when I had finished but one good Piece of our Story in such a manner as it should be worth the reading. I would serve my Countrey in any honest and brave thing; but History is my beloved Study, with it I would (if I had it in my power) grow old and die.

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It was the comfort of a Prince in all his Sufferings, that his Name would one day, like the Sun, break through the Clouds of Reproach that the Iniquity of the Times had thrown about him; and he should shine the more gloriously in History for the things he had suffered in his Life. If he in the lowest Abyss of Misery, in the melancholly Recesses of a Confinement, could thus comfort his drooping Spirits with the prospect of that Honour would be paid him in his Grave, when his Name should be embalmed in the grateful memory of his Subjects; It is a wonder there is no more care taken by the Living to render this grateful Acknowledgment to their Ancestors for all that they have left them.

But if we are unmindful of the Dead, if their cold Bones can merit

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rit no corner in our Hearts or thoughts; why are we so regardless of the Living? a Prince can scarce deserve better of his Subjects, instruct, direct, reform, or amend them more effectually by any other method, than by Good Histories. The Precepts that are so delivered, slide insensibly and pleasantly into the minds of the Reader, and make lasting Impressions on his Memory.

Nor is this Benefit confined to the Subject, and meaner Persons; even Princes themselves do borrow from History those Counsels and Assistances they shall hardly gain from Courtiers and Ministers; sometimes they will not, sometimes they dare not Admonish their Master; whilst a good History shews them by others, what will be the effect of ill-concerted Designs

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signs and Counsels, and at the same time is an Awe upon them, suggesting this Thought frequently to them, *How will this look in History?* Thus *Augustus*, *Queen Elizabeth*, and *Henry the Fourth of France*, became Famous to Posterity, by observing carefully in History, what Fate had attended the Princes that preceded them.

Posterity too are to be taken care of; if the present Age is not such as a Good or a Wise Man would wish it, let us try if we can make the next Generation better, by shewing the Chain of Calamities have followed at the heels of the Vices of the last and of this Age. At her Death the Thrift, the Probity, the Piety, and the Hospitality of the *English* Nation was much abated: The Luxury that attended the
a Peace-

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Peaceable Reign of *James* the First, and the Beginning of *Charles* the First, brought on a War that threatned our Ruin: What has hapned since the Restitution, to the time in which Their Majesties began Their Reign, is now fresh in Memory, but will be lost, if not written. And I am perswaded nothing can possibly be invented to make us Wiser than we now are, sooner or more easily, than a good History of this Period of Time; but then our Princes and Great Men must encourage it, and skreen the Writer, or it will never be done: The Expence is too great for a Private Man, and the Materials are most of them locked up from the view of all those who have not the Royal Authority consenting to their Inspection, and the Royal Purse to support

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port the Charge of Transcribing them.

Methinks every Prince that resolveth to do things worthy to be written, should take care to have one good Historian about him, to preserve the Memory of his Actions. Those that live ill, will find what they fear above all things, a man to paint out those things to the Life, which they would gladly have concealed. Story will go on with or without their care, but to their Damage, if not discreetly encouraged.

But why do I write thus in all the Misfortunes that have so lately befallen me! My Character has been written with the Poison of Asps, instead of Ink; so that one single *Word* (in another man's Work, otherwise interpreted than either he or I meant it, as is plain by the words that follow and ex-
a 2 plain

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plain it) has been enough to sink me, after my Reputation had been sufficiently pierced by the Arrows of Envy and Detraction. But all that I shall say in my own Defence, is, That I hate what I am supposed to be guilty of, as much as any man in the Nation; and never suffered, said, or thought the thing in all my Life.

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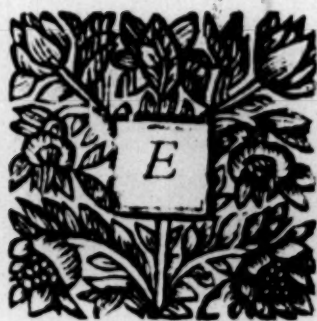
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L I C E N S ' D

November 10. 1692.

T H E

THE
CHARACTER
OF
Queen ELIZABETH.



ELIZABETH, Queen The Birth of *England*, was born and Parentage of at *Greenwich* the 7th of Queen Elizabeth. *September 1533*. Her birth. Father was *Henry* the VIIIth, Her Mother was the Lady *Anna Boleyn* the Daughter of Sir *Thomas Boleyn*, a Knight of great Estate and Esteem. After She came to wear the Royal Crown of *England*, She had a particular Affection for *Greenwich*, that Pleasant Seat upon the *Thames*, as for the place of Her Nativity : and upon that account, amongst many others, She preferr'd Her Palace there before all Her other Country Seats near *London*; as in truth it enjoys one of the Noblest Prospects in the World, and an health-
B ful

The Character of

ful, and a pleasing Air. From Her very Cradle She was exposed to the Hazards and Hardships of an unkind Fortune. *Anna Boleyn* Her Mother, upon the Death of *Queen Catherine*, in the Year 1535. the 8th of *January*, was Arraigned for Treason; and in 1536. being Sentenced, was freed by Death from a bloody Marriage, the 19th of *May*. The Inveterate Malice of the Popish Clergy having ever since pursued this Match with their Reproaches as unlawful and void; because *Queen Catherine* his first Wife was then still living, and very much intraged at it, tho' to no purpose. Hereupon soon after a Parliament was summoned, which began the 8th of *June*; In which the Issue of both the King's former Marriages was declared Illegitimate, and for ever excluded from claiming the Inheritance of the Crown as the King's Lawful Heirs by Lineal Descent; and the Attainder of *Queen Ann*, and her Complices, was Confirmed. So that by Authority of Parliament She stood wholly incapacitated as to the wearing the Crown of *England*. Her only Support in the mean time under all these Injuries and Afflictions was the Goodness of God.

The

The King Her Father observing in ^{Her Educa-} Her a Noble Presence of Mind, a good tion.
Memory, great Apprehension, an Excellent Nature, and good Dispositions towards Piety and Vertue, caused Her to be diligently educated and brought up in Learning, and taught whatever was suitable to Her Birth and Age. Her *Tutoreſs* was the Lady *Champernon*, a Person of great Worth, who formed this great Wit from Her Infancy, and improved Her Native Modesty with wise Counſels, and a Liberal and Sage Advice. Thus Her Natural Parts were in progreſs of time poliſhed and improved by the Knowledge of many of the beſt and moſt uſeful Arts: That when She came to Reign (which was even then ſuppoſed) She might manage Her Affairs with a ſteady hand, happily and regularly Adminiſter Juſtice, and ſhew Mercy, cure Her Anger, and govern prudently all Her other Paſſions and Affections. The King Her Father, the day after Her Mother was beheaded, married the Lady *Jane Seymour*; and this New Queen, what from the ſweetneſs of Her Diſpoſition, and out of compliance with the King, who loved Her very much, was as kind to Her as

The Character of

Page 209.

Her Tutors
in the Greek
and Latin
Tongue.

if She had been Her Mother. There is still extant two Letters written by this Young Princess to Her, the one in *Italian*, and the other in *English*, in a fair Hand, the same She wrote all the rest of Her Life, when She was not full Four years of Age. The *English* Letter is printed in the First Part of Dr. Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, and bears date in July 1537.

This Ripe and Flourishing *Infancy* was a good *Omen*, that the next Stage of Her Life would be most Excellent; and accordingly, before She was 17 years of Age, She had made a very great progress in all the Liberal Sciences; so easily did She apprehend, and firmly retain whatever She was taught. The Learned Mr. Roger Ascham (a man born and bred for that Age, which was to refine the *Greek* and *Latin* to a Politeness, and raise them to an Eloquence) was Her Tutor for the *Latin* Tongue; and by his Industry and Diligence he directed Her so well, that from *Cicero*, *Pliny* and *Livy*, She became the Mistress of an Even, Beautiful, pure, unmixed, and truly Princely Stile, which She could speak with Elegance and Facility. As She became thus Eloquent, and was well

well furnished with Knowledge by the means of this Tongue ; so upon all Occasions She was ready afterwards to express Her Love and Esteem for the *Latin* Tongue. She became so perfect in it, that she spoke it with all the Advantages of Eloquence ; so that some of Her Extemporary Orations were deservedly approved by both the *Universities*, and they too are consigned to Eternity, and left a lasting Impression on the minds of them that heard them, though few of them are now extant ; but however, there is one preserved and published by Mr. *Fuller* in his History of *Cambridge*, Page 138. In this Tongue She did not make it Her business, whilst She was reading the best *Latin* Authors, to furnish Her Memory with Grammatical Observations, or a plenty of high sounding Words, or Elegant Phrases, which might help to exalt her Reputation for Learning, or adorn Her stile : But She treasured up those Precepts very carefully, which were useful for the government of Her Life, or for the managing Her Private Affairs, or those of the State, well and wisely. To this end She read *Livy's History*, *Tacitus* his *Annals*, the *Acts of Tiberius*

the Emperor, and all *Seneca's* Works. By all which She at last furnished Her Judgment with the best Remedies against all the Attacks of Fortune: With an equal Industry She read over all the best of the *Greek Orators and Historians*; with the Assistance of Mr. *Asheam* She read *Isocrates, Aeschinis* and *Demosthenes*. She was curious, not only to understand the Propriety of the *Greek* Idiom, and the Sense of the Author, but pried into the Antiquities that occur'd, the Causes they managed, the Decrees of the People, the Customs of the *Grecians*, and the Manners of that Famous City of *Athens*, till She thoroughly understood them. She caused Sir *John Fortescue*, a great Master in the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongue, to read to Her *Thucydides, Xenophon* and *Polybins*, and after them *Euripides, Aeschines* and *Sophocles*: And to reward him for this Service, She afterwards made him Master of her *Wardrobe, and Chancellor, and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer*; And She would afterwards say, that *Fortescue* for Integrity, and *Walsingham* for Subtilty, out-did Her Expectation; no wonder then that he was ever of Her Privy Council. She had afterwards a great Love for Sir
Henry

Henry Savil, a Gentleman of various and great Learning, who afterwards composed many noble Volumes, and arose to Honour purely by his Learning.

In Her reading She did not only aim to understand Her Author, and observe the *softness of the Attick, and the sweetness of the Greek Tongue*, which may serve for Ostentation: But She made many Observations for the Tempering of Manners; The Sanctity of Justice, and the allaying Humane Passions, that nothing might be done by Her Angrily, Proudly, Injuriouly, and beyond the Rules of Civility. There was not one remarkable Story or Expression in all the Works of *Thucidides* and *Xenophon*, pertaining to the Governmene of Life or Manners, or to the ordering Publick Affairs, but She had it by heart. She was as great an Admirer of *Philosophy*, as of *Eloquence*; by which She attained the Knowledge of many excellent Things; and that civil Prudence or Policy which is so absolutely necessary for all Princes, And besides all that civil Prudence and the Knowledge of Governing, by which the Publick Utility is acquired and improved, She drew from the Ancient and

Her Observations in Reading.

most Noble Philosophers all those Precepts that they have set down for the gaining *Moral Prudence and Vertue*: For Her greatest Care was spent in the Cultivating these two beautiful Parts of Philosophy. I will omit the common Philosophers, of whose Learning and Doctrine She was a great Lover. The *Divine Plato*, that illustrious Light of *Greece*; was made more Noble by the Hands of this Heroick Princess. *Aristotle*, the Prince of the Philosophers, the acute Master of *Alexander the Great*, was read by Her: She was thoroughly acquainted with *Xenophon's Cyrus*; a *Piece not writ with the Truth of an Historian*; but to represent the lively Image of a *Just and Moderate Prince*, accomplished with all those Endowments which the Great *Socrates* had set forth, for the living well and happily.

G Grindal
Her Tutor in
Theology.

Being thus prepared by *Philosophy*, she was, by the Learned Dr. *Grindal*, *Professor of Divinity*, initiated in *Theology*; which above all other Sciences, teacheth the Worship of God, Pure Religion, and the Knowledge of Heavenly Happiness; and by these disposeth men to Justice, Modesty, Clemency, Magnanimity, and Humanity. She
chear-

cheerfully and readily embraced a genuine and true *Theology*, free from fictitious Legends, and the Popish Superstitions, which she afterwards made more venerable, by an holy and pious Life, without any Ostentation. And being of a Great Wit, and a Strong Memory, she drew from the *Annals* of all Nations and People, the Actions of the Greatest Princes, and an innumerable number of their Fights, and most Illustrious Victories. She would frequently set before Her the Monuments of Her Predecessors, the Triumphs and incredible Victories obtained by the *English* at *Cressy*, *Poitiers*, *Agincourt*, or *Blagni*, and at *Vernevil*, against the *French*, with a vast effusion of their blood; and she would frequently say, These Victories were owing more to the Assistancess of Heaven, than the Arms of her Ancestors.

Besides the *French*, *Italian*, and *English* Tongues, which She spake freely, She well understood most of the common Languages now spoken in *Europe*; but as to these Three I have mentioned, She spoke French and Italian, and understood many other European Tongues. it was hard to say which she knew best. Of this there were many witnesses, when She answered the *Imperial* Ambassador
in

The Character of

in *Italian* ; the *French*, in *French* ; and the *Sweden* in *Latin*, Sharply, Prudently, Pertinently, Elegantly, and Politely, without any time taken to consider of it. She gave *de Ronfard*, a *French* Poet, a Diamond of great Value, as a Testimony of Her approving his elegant and splendid Poems in that Tongue. She understood Musick very well, and could Sing, Dance, and Play on the Lute, with a composed Motion of Body, attended with a Countenance, Habit, and Gesture, which became a Queen. She was a great Lover of Conforts, when *Voices* were mixed with Instruments of Musick ; and at such times She would be strangely Facetious and Pleasant. She spent Her times of Leisure and Diversion, with the greatest Pleasure that was possible to Her Self, and those about Her. Yet after all, Her Virtues procured Her more Honour and Esteem in all Nations, than all these Ornaments of Industry, Learning, and Ingenuity, though they appeared in Her to an higher and more illustrious degree, than ever was found in any other Lady ; and were attended also with the greatest Sagacity and Judgment : For there was not any Person

Person in Her Times, that exceeded Her in *Chastity, Piety, Justice, and Magnanimity*.

Now I have shortly shown the Be-
 ginnings and Progress of Her Virtues,
 and the Means and Degrees by which
 She attained to them: It will be plea-
 sant to shew how she brought them into
 Act under the Reign of Her Brother,
 EDWARD the VIth, (who by the
 Consent of the Three Estates in Parlia-
 ment, abolished the *Popish Religion*, and
 introduced the Reformed). She having
 then attained to great degrees of Piety,
 Eloquence, and Learning, went on in
 the commendable Improvement of all
 those Perfections she had received from
 the Bounty of *Nature* or *Fortune*. She
 rendered Her *Royal Extraction* more illu-
 strious, by the Assistances She took eve-
 ry day from Books; and when She had
 spent the time She had assigned to *Polite*
Learning, She betook Her self every day
 to the more severe Studies of *Religion*,
 with a vigorous and lively Affection.
 She read over *Melancthon's Common-Pla-*
ces; and gained very much by an exact
 and accurate Perusal of the *Sacred Scri-*
ptures: There were innumerable Sen-
 tences in the *New Testament*, and the
Oracles

Her Progress
 and Improve-
 ment under
 the Reign of
 Edward VI.

The Character of

Oracles of the Prophets, which She had treasured up in Her Memory, and which She would afterwards upon occasion mention; and She attended the Offices of Religion and Piety, with great Devotion and Care. She often addressed Her devoutest Prayers to God, and implored his Assistance, for the obtaining a Chast Heart, a Pure and Unspotted Life, and a Steady and Constant Soul. The Wills of the Subjects of *England* were then divided, and their Opinions distracted in the matters of Religion; and She then shewed to mankind the true and *salutary Doctrine*, not so much by Words, as by a *holy Life*, and *good Actions*. She attentively heard the *Sermons* of the Clergy, not only to please Her self with their Oratory, but admitted them into the most intimate Recesses of Her heart, with an incredible satisfaction; and She joined devoutly and constantly in the Liturgy and Prayers of the Church.

The Untimely Death of Her Beloved Brother Edward VI.

The Death of *Edward* the VIth, Her beloved Brother, in his Childhood, in the very Blossom of a promising Spring, tho he was snatched away from Her by an immature Fate, to the damage of his Countrey; yet it gave no stop or affright to

to Her Piety, but She conſolated Her ſelf with the Immortal Glory he had acquired in the ſhort time he lived.

To him ſucceeded *MART* Her Siſter, who always adhered ſtiffly to the old way of Worſhip, and the Ceremonies and Superſtitious of the *Church of Rome*, even when they were aboliſhed by Acts of Parliament; and having now got the Crown, made it Her greateſt Deſign not only to reſtore the Pomp and Splendor of it as before, but alſo to compel all her Subjects to ſubmit to it by Force, Threats, Banishment, and moſt Barbarous Deaths and Cruelties. To this purpoſe alſo ſhe called over *Cardinal Reginald Pool*, a Perſon of rare Learning, and of a very Innocent Life and Converſation; and which is rarely to be found in the men of that Perſuaſion, of a great *Probity, Candor, and Sweetneſs of Temper*. The Popiſh Religion being thus reſtored, there were New Biſhops, and New Preachers, fought for, to recommend it to the Nation; and the Honeſt, Innocent, Religious, Good men, who had ſet the Crown upon Her Head, upon Her Promiſe to Protect the Religion which She found Eſtabliſhed, were oppreſſed by the

And the Succeſſion of Q. Mary.

the Fury of their Enemies, which spread it self over the whole Kingdom of *England*, and there was no place free from their Religious Butchery. The Princess *ELIZABETH*, in these doleful times seeing her self deprived of the Protection of a Kind Brother, deserted by Her Friends, and betrayed by Her Enemies, had not the least hope of enjoying the Free Exercise of the True Religion. Nor was this Calamity thought enough ; but Her Popish enemies persecuted Her, under the pretence She had Conspired with *Sir Thomas Wiat* to Destroy Her Sister ; tho at his death he declared to all the world, She had no hand in his Insurrection ; but however, Her Sister was glad of this pretence to use Her ill ; and being spurr'd on by Her Popish Bishops, who were highly enrag'd against Her, as the Head of the Reformed Religion, She was sent close Prisoner to the Castle of *WOODSTOCK*, in the year 1554. Thus She saw Her self deprived at once of all her Friends, and Her Liberty too : Her Servants and Friends abroad were many of them Attainted, and others forced to seek their Safety in Foreign Countries : And the Protestants in great Numbers became

became a Sacrifice to the Rage of the *Popish Bishops*: So that no Orator is able truly and effectually to represent in words the Desolations and Calamities of those times. Many, however, of the most Learned of the *English* Nation, during this storm, betook themselves to *Germany*, as to their safest Harbour: The rest who could not make a timely Escape were committed to Prisons, tormented with various Arts of Cruelty, and at last burnt alive: The Publick places of our Cities were bathed with the Blood of Innocent and Holy men; and our streets were filled with the dreadful shrieks and groans of the miserable; men from their souls detesting the Cruelty of the *Popish* Clergy, and the infamous Inhumanity of these *Marian Times*. The Princess *Elizabeth* was a sorrowful Spectator of this Tragedy; but for all the fear she lived in, and the repeated Threats of Her Sister, She stood her ground, and would not be withdrawn from the Religion She had embraced, and in Her Conscience approved; but bore all with an undaunted and Heroick Courage. The Chearfulness of Her Temper soon overcame the Greatness of the Calamity, the Melancholy

The Princess
Elizabeth a
sorrowful
Spectator of
the *Popish*
Cruelty.

Melancholy of a Prison, and the Fear of Her Sister The Bitterness of Her Misfortunes was much allayed also, by discovering to Her how tenderly the People loved her; so that the Joy of this, over balanced the Calamities of the Times, and the Frowns of Fortune. In the midst of such over-whelming sorrows, Suspicions, and the Fears of an Ignominious Death, no mortal ever saw her dejected or dispirited. When the fears of Her Treacherous and Perfidious Enemies, and that of Violence encompassed Her, Good Reason encouraged Her; a Sound Mind, and a Quiet Conscience supported Her under Her Misfortunes, and Her Hope and Trust in the Goodness and Mercy of God, overcame all assaults of Despair.

She was hated
by the P. Bishops
for Her
Religion.

It is not my Purpose to make the Reigns of *Henry* the VIII. and *Queen Mary* odious; and therefore I will not spend my time in representing the Cruelties that were then put in Practice; the manifold Murthers extending to all Sexes and Ages; or the Miseries that followed those that fled hence into Foreign Countries. For tho the mischievous Example of the *Papish Clergy*, who by their Authority, Counsel, and the specious

specious pretences of Retrieving and Preserving the Ancient Piety and Worship, raised and augmented these Persecutions, and is for ever to be detested; yet the Faults of Princes, like those of our Parents, are to be concealed as much as is possible; and the Injuries they do us are patiently and silently to be suffered.

The Popish Clergy, and especially some of the Bishops, foreseeing what hazard their Religion was exposed to as long as the Princess *Elizabeth* lived, and was the next Heir to the Crown of *England*, because she had from her Infancy been bred up in the *Protestant Religion*, made it their Great Design to hasten her Death with an implacable Malice, that so they might at one blow cut off the Head of that Party which was here formed against their Church. She in the mean while, during all this calamitous time saw herself under Custody, her faithful Servants in Prison, and she had perpetually before her eyes the Images of a violent Death. The People of *England* saw her Danger, but could not so prudently conceal their Fears, but upon all occasions openly and with great Anxiety said, *This Royal*
C Off-

Offspring was designed for Slaughter: Truth and Innocence were not secure; and the Ruin and Undoing of the Nation would be the effects of her Death. Queen *Mary* in the mean time was distracted between the Shame of offending the whole Nation, which generally believed the Princess *Elizabeth* to be innocent; and the Fear of exposing her Religion (which she loved above all things) to the Hazard of another Protestant Reign. She saw herself in danger of Conspiracies if her Sister lived, and that on the other hand she could not take away her Life without being guilty of a great Wickedness. *Philip* the II. a King of *Spain*, the Husband of Queen *Mary*, upon wise Reasons of State, delivered the poor, distressed, and helpless Princess out of this horrid Danger, out of pure Aversion to the Kingdom of *France*, his most dreadful Rival: For he wisely considered, That *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, and Grandchild to *Henry* VII. was married to *Francis* the Eldest Son of *Henry* II. King of *France*; and that if the Princess *Elizabeth* were cut off, she would be the undoubted Heiress of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and would transfer
and

Her Life was
saved by King
Philip.

and unite these Three *Northern Crowns* to that of *France*, and make the House of *Valoise* dreadful to that of *Austria*. This Thought put a stop to their Cruelty ; God by it procuring her Safety, and with her, preserving the *English* Nation, to the universal joy of all who wished well to her or their Countrey.

Queen *Mary* her Sister died the 17th. The Death of Queen Mary. of *November*, 1558, when she had Reigned Five Years, Four Months, and Eleven days, being then in the XLIII. Year of her Age, concluding an unhappy Reign, and an unfortunate Life. She at her Death by her last Will left the afflicted and disconsolate Lady the Princess *Elizabeth*, the Heir of the Crown of *England*, rather out of an unavoidable Necessity, than any thing of Choice. There was then a Parliament sitting, which began the 5th. of that month in which she died ; and as the Government was then wholly in the hands of the *Roman-Catholicks*, none of the other Party daring to appear, or if they did, not daring to own their Opinions, the Death of *Queen Mary* was concealed for some hours, for what purpose is not known ; but about Nine of the Clock the *Lord Chancellor* went to the House
C 2 of

of Lords, and first acquainted them with it. This gave a great terror to the Bishops, and those Counsellors who had been severe against the Princess Elizabeth; yet they all agreed to Proclaim her Queen; so they sent for the House of Commons, and the Chancellor told them also the Queen was dead, and that the Princess Elizabeth was the indisputed Heir to the Crown, of whose Right and Title none could make any Question; and therefore the Lords intended to Proclaim her Queen, and desired their Concurrence; which was joyfully entertained by them, and they all cried, *God save Queen Elizabeth; long and happily may she reign.* She being thus advanced to the Throne, not only by her own undoubted Right, and the Providence of God, but by the Consent and with the Approbation of all the Three Estates then Assembled in Parliament, (which, I think, never before hapned to any of our Princes besides her), she was received by the whole Nation with incredible Transports of Joy and Affection, and the loudest Acclamations they could make; men highly valuing the Innocence of her former Life, and commiserating the hardships she had suffered in the former Reign,

Reign, to the hazard of her Life. When God had thus brought this Queen to the Throne of her Ancestors, of a sudden the course of things, and the current of affairs took a new bias; the heavy Tempests and Misfortunes that attended *England* were instantly blown over, and a serene and prosperous course of things succeeded in their place. Thus in a moment she was not only freed from the Miseries of an Imprisonment, but adorned with the highest degree of Honour and Power; and this Lady with a Masculine, or rather Heroick Soul, which was worthy to have governed the Empire of the World, for almost Forty five years after, managed the Royal Scepter of England, and was the Arbitrator, prescribing the Conditions of Peace and War to all the Princes of Christendom, with a Greatness of Mind, and a Wisdom that became so high a Station. This Virtue, which was almost Divine, joined with so admirable a Prudence, renders her worthy of the Applause and Honour of all mankind. Thus one may see and admire the great force and power of Time, and the wonderful Changes of Human Affairs; and how useful it is to arrive at Prosperity by the Waves of

Adversity. Whilst she was in her private Station, she was perpetually under the fear and danger of Death; but by the Goodness of God she escaped all the Insults of Adverse Fortune; her Innocence procured her Safety, that made way for her Liberty, so her Sovereignty was acknowledged; and from her prudent Management of that Royal Station, she gained an Endless Glory, and an Immortal Name. Thus attaining the Possession of a Kingdom with Glory, and the Publick Safety, and the Good Will of her Subjects, she on all occasions shewed the Greatness and Brightness of her Wit and Soul: That she had well studied and digested the best Arts, and had had an excellent Education, and wise Instruction, the good Effects of which were now made known, by her wise promoting the Good and Safety of her People.

The Nation
divided into
Factions.

In the beginning of her Reign she found the Nation at home filled with Divisions and Heart-burnings, by reason of the contrary methods used in the two preceding Reigns: Abroad she had never an Ally she could trust to; all was in War, or an uncertain and unsteady Peace. The *Spanish Government* was become

become odious here, and the *English* called their Affected Gravity, *Pride and Insolence*: The *French* had equally incited us by the late Surprize of *Calais*. *Calais* newly lost. The Treasury was at the lowest Ebb; and our Bulwark, which our ancestors had preserved Two hundred and ten years, was taken from us in one weeks time, in the beginning of *January*, in this year: The New Queen proposed to herself the common Safety and Welfare of her People, and pursued it with the utmost Care and Affection. She was then Twenty five years of Age, and something more, when the Royal Diadem of *England* descended to her; and she began the difficult work of raising the low and calamitous state of *England*, and redressing those Grievances which the opposite Interests and Designs of the former times had brought upon this Nation. She was not only ripe and fit for Government, but she had by this time acquired a strange and unusual degree of Civil Prudence. She knew the Publick or Royal Laws of *England*, not only by reading them in Books, but alio by the great Reflection she had made on our History, and on what had happened in her own times;

and by her Conversation with great men, and the application she had ever made of her Mind to whatever was worth regarding. The 14th. of *January* after her Sister's Death, 155⁸₉, she was Crowned with the Ancient and Usual Ceremonies, when her People gave her fresh Instances of their Loyalty and Affection, by crowding in unusual Numbers to see and partake in the Joy of this Solemnity: And she (having observed that her Sister, by the fullness of her Behaviour, had much disobliged the People), frequently looked on them with a chearful and pleasing Countenance, and returned the Respects they paid her, with great sweetness. She took the Ancient and Usual Coronation Oath, *That she would govern her Kingdom according to the Ancient and Laudable Laws and Customs of England*; which she observed more willingly than most of her Predecessors had before her; and this gained her both the Love and Reverence of her People.

She at first
dissembled
her Religion.

At first she cherished in her *Roman Catholick* Subjects a belief she would Imbrace that Religion they professed. *She changed nothing in the Publick Service, or the Administration of the Sacraments,*

ments, that she might not enrage her Papists, and give them a pretence for Separation before she had well Established herself. The Kingdom of *England* was then very unsettled, and had received great Damages both at home and abroad; the *French* had wrested from us the strong Town of *Bologne* in the Year 1546. before the death of *Henry* the VIIIth, and *Calais* in the beginning of this Year: The Sea was full of *Privateers*, and there was scarce any thing to be trusted to. In this Disorder of Affairs she wisely thought, That the only way to settle and preserve the Nation from Imminent Ruine, was to chuse wise and upright Men to manage the Publick Affairs; She declined the use of Rash and overbold Men, who have commonly brought mischief on the States that have trusted to them. Being weary of the *Popish Ceremonies*, and their Conversation, she retired for some time to one of her Country Houses, as it were, for Diversion and Pleasure, but in truth that she might with the greater Leisure and Secrecy consider of the Methods she should take for the removing the Dangers which threatned her Kingdom, for the
the

Her Prime
Counsellors.

the Preservation of its Peace, for the Abating the Power of the Popish Party, and the settling that Religion here, which she believed was most for the Glory of God, as being most agreeable to the Sacred scriptures. The Men that she most relied on in this great and difficult Work, were *William* Lord *Parre* of *Kendal*, Marquess of *Northampton*, whom she had restored to his Honours. *Francis Russel*, earl of *Bedford*. *Sir Nicholas Bacon*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, and *Sir William Cecil*, Prime Secretary of State; all of them men of great Prudence and Courage, who had with much difficulty escaped the *Marian* Tempest. These were the Chief Managers of her Secret Councils, and acquainted with her most private Thoughts and Designs for the good and safety of her People, and were all of them Protestants: The Popish Nobility and great Men were either contented with a Vote in the Privy Council (in which many of them still sat) and others of them refusing however to be any otherwise concerned; or foreseeing the Change that was intended, had withdrawn themselves altogether,

gether, and deserted their former Stations

Of these, she relied mostly on the Council of *Cecil* and *Bacon*, who were closely united each to other, and both equally in her Favour, and were besides men of great Judgment. They were also her Chief Ministers, and most trusted by her for their Integrity and Industry.

Cecil and *Bacon*
her Prime
Ministers.

Having thoroughly consider'd the state of the Nation, she resolv'd at first to promote a Peace abroad; and that she might gain her point in this with the greater ease, she us'd some Dissimulation. *Philip* the II^d, King of *Spain*, had lost the possession of *England* by the death of Queen *Mary*, and to recover it, had begun a Treaty of Marriage with Queen *Elizabeth*, which she declined with much civility and modesty; so that he still insisted upon it for some time, and she was not willing wholly to undeceive him till she saw an end of the Treaty of *Cambray*. *Francis* the Eldest Son of *Henry* the II^d, King of *France*, having married *Mary Steward*, Queen of the *Scots*, and the next Heir after her of the Crown of *England*, the *French* were forming a Design against her,

She dissim-
bled with the
King of *Spain*.

her, and made a kind of Claim of the Crown for the *Dauphiness*. The Queen feared the King of *Spain* the most of the two, as being a Prince of deep Designs, and formidable to all his Neighbours on the score of his vast Dominions; and was resolved, as time and opportunity should serve, to abate his Power, and cross his Designs: She was as much offended with the King of *France* for the ravishing *Calais* from us, and for assuming the Arms of *England* to hers and the Nation's Dishonour; yet she resolved to make a Peace with him as soon as she could. Thus this Heroick Lady, which had tried both Adverse and Prosperous Fortune, being by Nature endowed with a strange Sagacity and Prudence, which is very rarely to be found in that Sex; and which she had also much improved by the Afflictions she had suffered; by her wise Counsels soon brought this almost Shipwreck'd Vessel to a safe Port, and governed it all her days with much ease and Peace; by which she gave the World a noble *Specimen* of her Virtue, Justice and Prudence. She discovered all the Inclinations, Forces, Leagues and Counsels of her Neighbouring States; She laid
aside

afide all her Feminine Indignation, and would not suffer her most intimate Affections to have any place or consideration with her, when she was to consult the Peace, and secure the safety of her People. Of which this may serve for a clear Proof; From the beginning of her Reign she had established this as a Maxim, *That the King of Spain was the most formidable Enemy the English then had*; but then because that Nation was strong, rich, and powerful, she seemingly paid, for some time, a great respect to the King of *Spain*, that he and the *French* King might not join against her; and she also sent an Ambassador to renew the Amity between her and the House of *Austria*.

Yet considering that it was necessary that she should in a short time have a War with *Spain*, and that part of his Dominions lay near her, and that others were more remote, and very rich and fruitful, so that they would well pay her Subjects for the pains and danger of attacking them; She upon the whole concluded, That it was her Interest to enter into a Treaty of Peace and Amity with the King of *France*; and accordingly she kindly received his Ambassadors,

She makes a Peace with *France*, and resolves on a War with *Spain*.

The Treaty
of Cambray.

dors, who were sent hither to renew the Peace. She put out a *Proclamation* to forbid all her Subjects the offering any violence or wrong to the *French* that were then in *England*, that she might prevent their enraging the Foreign Nations against her or her Subjects. And in the Castle of *Cambray* she by her Ambassadors concluded a League with *France*, upon Condition, *That the Town of Calais, and all that belonged to it, should after eight years be restored to the English; and if the same was not done, that the French King should pay to her, at the expiration of the said Term, 50000 Crowns, and give Hostages of the Children of Noble Families for the performance of the said Condition in the mean time; and the assurance of an Oath, that they would punctually and truly keep the said Agreement.* When this Peace came to be discovered by a *Proclamation* in *London*, and all the Sea-port Towns, almost all the good men of *England* were inwardly offended at it; and they whispered their Discontents in all places. Yet I cannot but think the Queen in this League (how much soever it was spoken against) did rather consult her own Honour and

Re-

Reputation, and the safety and welfare of her People, than trust to the Faith of the King of *France*, as to the restitution of *Calais*. The Hostages indeed fled away, and the *French* broke their Faith (as it was to be thought they would) when they were to restore *Calais*; but then the Advantages which *England* then gained by that seasonable Peace, abundantly overbalanced the Damages sustained by the disappointment. When the time was expired for the restitution of *Calais*, the *English* Ambassadors in the Court of *France* endeavoured to make that Nation appear odious and detestable to all Mankind, because they had fraudulently departed from the Terms of the League so solemnly made at *Cambray*, and afterwards sworn to by that King: But Monsieur de l'Hospital, Sieur de Vitry, Chancellor of *France*, a Learned and a Cunning Lawyer, replied, That *Calais* was lost by a War, and regained by another; That the Promise of restoring it was a Necessity imposed upon the *French* by the Iniquity of the Times, which had enforced them to yield so far to the *English* for the safety of their State; but that in truth the *English* had as much right

The *French*
Plea against
the Restituti-
on of *Calais*.

The Character of

She resolved
to reform the
Religion.

right to Paris, as they had to Calais; and might with as good justice demand the first, as the last. Yet after all, this Wise man never endeavoured to clear his Nation from the Guilt and Infamy of Fraud and Perjury, which was a Task above his strength. In all Revolutions and Changes, the Queen always in the first place took care to secure the True Worship of God, and the safety of all her Subjects. When therefore she had thus secured her Peace abroad, or at least had gained a Cessation of War till she might take breath, and recover her strength, and was now freed thereby from all fear of Foreign or Domestic Dangers, she made it her next great business to reform the Religion of *England*. She foresaw, that if she suffered Popery to continue, she could never establish her own Government. Therefore she resolved with pious and holy care to establish the *Reformation* that had been begun by her Father, and carried on by her Brother; and to suppress and eradicate by degrees, by the Authority of her Parliaments, without force or violence, the Popish Superstition, which she esteemed a Corrupt and Immoderate Religion, and equally inju-

injurious to Princes and their Subjects.

In these times the contending *Religions* were so near an Equality, and so balanced each against other, that the Authority of the Prince was able to turn the scale. *Henry* the VIIIth. was able to settle a Mongrel sort of *Popery*: *Edward* the VIth. advanced this to a thorough *Reformation*: *Queen Mary*, without much difficulty, re-settled the old *Moss* of unrefined *Popery*: And now when it was become ten times more hated than before, on the account of the Perfidy and Bloodshed that had been employed to establish it, *Queen Elizabeth* comes upon the stage, resolved to use all her Skill and Authority for the intire Extirpation of it; and the People readily and willingly complied with her in it, or rather in truth led her the way, and were a little too hot on the work. She presently summoned a Parliament, which was opened the 25th of *January*, after her Accession to the Crown; the great Design of which was, To put an end to the Distractions of the Nation in matters of *Religion*; and to that end, by the Lord Keeper *Bacon*, she desired, 'They would consider of it without heat, or partial affection, or using any

The contending Religions equally balanced.

Her first Parliament.

D

re-

The Character of

'reproachful terms of *Papist*, or *Heresy*
 'tick; and that they would avoid the
 'Extremes of *Idolatry* and *Superstition*
 'on the one hand, and *Contempt* and
 'Irreligion on the other; and that they
 'would settle things so, as might bring
 'the People to an *Uniformity* and cor-
 'dial Agreement in them. And as to
 'the State, she promised she would use
 'her utmost endeavour to advance the
 'Prosperity, and preserve the Affecti-
 'ons of her Subjects. And tho she had
 'need then of their Assistance, yet she
 'professed she would desire no Supply,
 'but what they did freely and chearfully
 'offer. And at the same time she re-
 'presented *Calais* as a thing which they
 'could not at that time hope to reco-
 'ver. Thus she would neither wheedle
 nor deceive her Subjects, but with an
English Sincerity laid before them the
 Truth of the Case, and left it to God
 to direct them to what was best to be
 done. The Houses having heard and
 well considered what was offered on
 both sides, came at last to a full Reso-
 lution, *That all the Acts and Laws of*
Mary her Sister, in favour of the Ro-
mish Religion, should be Repealed. That
the good Laws of Edward the VIth. and
 Henry

Henry the VIIIth. in favour of the Reformation, should be Revived and Confirmed. That the Mass, which had been Restored by the Laws enacted in Queen Mary's time, should be Abolished as a thing that was full of Vanity and Levity. That all Images should be taken away out of the Churches: And all use of Holy Water. That the Liturgy and Publick Prayers should be all performed in the English Tongue, and by a Form prescribed, and then by Act of Parliament Confirmed and Allowed, as it had been before in her Brother's Reign, that so the People having a full and clear knowledg of the Service of the Church, might the better and more devoutly join both *Voice* and *Heart* in it. By this her prudent Care she gave the Romish Church one of the most mortal Wounds she ever received from any hand, by Rupudiating and Despising, Abolishing and Exposing all her Pagan Pageantry, and Jewish Ceremonies. She commanded all her Magistrates to take effectual Care, That the Romish Religion should not be exercised in Publick, or in any open Churches or Chappels: That all the Priests which should exercise the Romish Rites and

The Character of

*Ceremonies, should be excluded out of the Church, and deprived of their Benefices. That they should exercise at all times a severe and wholesom Discipline : That the minds of men might thereby be reclaimed from Vice, and fixed in the true Worship of God, She commanded them to get as many of the Popish * Books together, as they could possibly, and burn them ; and that they should take away and destroy all the Preparations and Vestments belonging to the Mass, all the Images, and all other the Ceremonies of that Church. She commanded, That for the future no Respect or Obedience should be paid to the Pope as the Head of the Church. Nor did she scruple to assume the Authority of a Governour of the Church in her own Dominions, in all cases Sacred and Civil, which is called with us, The ECCLESIASTICAL SUPREMACY. And she abolished by Act of Parliament all that Authority and Jurisdiction which had heretofore been Usurped or used by the Bishops of Rome in this Kingdom, in Publick or in Private, which is called the Popish Tyranny, and was a pretended Supreme, both Spiritual and Secu-
lar*

* I do not remember that I have read elsewhere this Order for burning the Popish Books.

lar Jurisdiction. She also restored the *Oath of Supremacy*, which had been first introduced by *Henry VIII.* her Father; continued by *Edward VI.* her Brother; and was taken away and abolished by *Queen Mary*; by which she was acknowledged to be the *Supreme Governor in all Causes, as well Ecclesiastical as Temporal, within her Dominions; and that they renounced all Foreign Power and Jurisdiction; and should bear the Queen Faith and True Allegiance.* She declined the use of the word, *Supreme Head*, in this Oath, which had been used before by her Brother and Father, both in Reverence to our Saviour, to whom she thought that Title only belonged; and also to abate, by this Verbal Compliance, the Reluctance she feared from the Popish Party: For if she gained her Point, she was unconcerned for the *Form of Words*, as all Wise Princes ever were. Against the Passing this Act Nine Bishops and Two Peers Protested, *viz. the Earl of Shrewsbury, and Viscount Montacute*; and they added some words which were very injurious to the Queen and the States; but she wisely dissembled it, and

gave them no disturbance on that account.

The Complaints of the Popish Bishops.

The Popish Bishops and Priests in the mean time were not idle and unconcerned Spectators; but being agitated by Hopes and Fears, and a confused Expectation what would be the Event of these Counsels, they made loud and bitter Complaints, *That men were drawn away from the Ancient and Establisshed Roman Rites and Ceremonies. That Christ's Vicar (the P O P E) was robb'd of his Supremacy and Divine Jurisdiction. That the Reverence to the Holy and Apostolick See was brought to nothing; and that now the Pope's Authority was despised, intolerable Heresies were daily minted.* So they endeavoured to retain the Nation in the Profession of their Religion, and to uphold their Ceremonies by any means; and when this failed, to alienate the minds of the People from the Queen, and to dispose them to Sedition and Rebellion. The Queen saw the Tendence of this, and did not think it was fit to despise their Complaints: *That therefore she might prevent the ill ef-*

effects of their Malice, and withdraw the matter that fed their Fury, and threatned her Kingdom with Schifms and Factions, which would be the Causes of great Calamities, she appointed a Conference or Disputation between the *Roman Catholicks* and the *Protestants*, at London, Concerning the *Authority of the Church*, and the *Supremacy of the Pope*; the *Ceremonies in use in the Church of Rome*, and the *Change of the Elements in the Holy Eucharist*; that she might by this means unite the disagreeing minds of her Subjects, in one and the same opinion, and mutual Love and Charity to each other. In this Conference many of the most reverend Mysteries of the Christian Religion were on both sides debated with great Warmth and Heat, and much Learning; yet nothing was gained on either side, by reason of the immoderate Opposition, and the implacable Hatred they bore each to other. So when the Popish Party saw that the Pope's Authority, which was once revered as Divine, was now become contemptible and infamous; and that all the Reasons they could pretend

The Character of

for the Justification of their *Ceremonies*, were overwhelmed by the load of Infamy their Pride and Cruelty had brought upon them; so that it was not possible for them to abate the Hatred, or remove the Contempt the people were then possess'd with, against the Popish Clergy; they suddenly pretended, That in the Matters of Religion there was no need of Reason and Disputation; and defended themselves with more Passion and Anger, than Reason and Judgment.

The Reformation established.

After this Disputation there were Acts of Parliament passed for the Establishing the *English Service*, and concerning the Ministers of the Church, as also for Restoring the Queen's Supremacy; with the unanimous Consent of the Peers, and the Applause of the Commons. But however, the *Popish Party* refused still to comply; and openly said, These Laws were not to be submitted to; and thereupon began a Dissention which is not yet ended. The turbulent Bishops and Clergy, who still adhered to the old Rites and Ceremonies, being thereupon

upon bereaved of their Sees, made great Complaints of the Iniquity and Injustice of these Laws; and concealing themselves as well as they could in corners and lurking-holes, for fear of being prosecuted for their disobedience, they said the *Queen was guilty of Heresie*; and solicited that part of the Nobility and Commonalty which still stuck to the Church of *Rome*, to renounce their Obedience to her, and stoutly to maintain the *Old Service*. They also sent their Agents to *Rome*, to perswade the *Pope* to Excommunicate her by Name, as one that had brought a *New Heresie* into the Church, and had confined the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Lincoln*, and many of the inferior Clergy, for sticking firmly to the *Romish Ceremonies*: And lastly, That she had assumed a Jurisdiction and Royal Authority, as well in all Spiritual Causes as Secular. The Queen on the other side, had by this time found the Inclination of her People, and being now well settled in her Throne, did not think fit to act any longer with that Reservedness she did at first, when she feared the Number
and

and Authority of the Papists, who had then the Law on their side; but by her *Proclamation* she courageously and openly commanded them, *That they should embrace the True Religion, which was most acceptable to God, and leave their Popish Rites; or otherwise depart out of her Kingdoms, Royal City, and Dominions, within so many months.* And upon this, she removed all those Popish Noblemen which had in her Sister's time been advanced to any Publick Employments or Stations in the Court or Kingdom, and she settled Protestants in all those Places, and put the whole Management of Publick Affairs into their hands; affirming very stoutly, *That she would sooner lay down her life, than desist from that Zeal and Resolution she had taken up, for the bringing down the Wickedness of the Papists.* This Bravery encouraged all her Friends, and struck her Enemies dumb.

Thus was the Popish Religion abolished in *England*, when it had flourished many Ages in great Wealth, by the help of a profitable Ignorance, and a fallacious and deceitful Interpretation

pretation of the Sacred Scriptures. And the Protestant Religion being restored to that Liberty, Esteem, and Splendor it had had in the times of *Edward* the VIth. it was soon after by the means of their common Language and Vicinity, communicated to the *Scots*, and spread it self not only in their Cities and great Towns, but also in their Villages and Countrey Habitations. It is impossible to the Life to describe the Calamities this Revolution brought upon the *Scots* Nation. The most sacred and venerable Churches, which seem'd to be secured from Violence by the Awe of Religion, were burnt down; the most sacred *Chappels* were first Riddled, and then Demolished by the Rabble: The Sepulchres of their Ancestors were pulled down, their Statues beaten down, and trodden under foot, and the basest and most lewd Injuries done to the Altars, *as if the Papists had been mere Pagan Idolaters*. I am so enraged (saith my Author, a Learned *Scot*) against these men, on the account of the great Ruin they wrought in my Native Countrey, that I cannot forbear expressing my Resentment:

The Miseries
of *Scotland* in
the Reforma-
tion.

The Happi-
ness of Eng-
land.

ment : For I am of opinion , That these *Popish Monuments* ought indeed to have been shut up , not to have been demolished , because they were the Ornaments of our Countrey. But to return to Queen *Elizabeth* , she made it no part of her business to find out those peaceable *Romish Priests* who had betaken themselves to private lurking holes , and secret places , more out of Fear than any Legal necessity : And if any of them by chance happened to be taken , they were committed to an honourable and easie restraint in the Cities , or delivered up into the hands of their own Bishops , to the end that by this her Moderation she might in the beginning of her Reign create an opinion of her *Clemency* in all her Subjects ; and at the same time deprive these Priests of the opportunity of doing Mischief. There was not one of these men put to death , till Pope *Pius* the Vth. in the year 1570 , excommunicated her by his Bull , upon which there followed a Rebellion of the Papists in the *North* : This was in the Twelfth Year of her Reign ; and in the next Ten Years that followed , there was
but

but Twelve men of that Religion executed, who were all Convicted of very great Crimes, by the most Legal Trials. The name of *Papist* was not punished in any man that was not guilty of great Wickednesses; because in the beginning of a Reign it is a dangerous thing to punish Offences with too much Rigor; whereas Clemency is of good use: And she accordingly took care, by her Benefits to allure the minds of her Popish Subjects to her, rather than by Cruelties to fright them: Thus the Entrance of her Reign was made happy and blessed; and she was able by the Blessing of God to settle her Religion, and to lay the Foundations of a Long Peace at Home and Abroad.

Having thus totally abolished all that Papal Superstition and Pomp, which for so many Ages had domineered over the *English*, so that there was scarce any sign left that it had once been here; her first and greatest care was to advance men of Piety and Learning to the Bishopricks and Preferments in the Church. There were many *Protestant Clergymen* of great

Her Care to settle Pious and Learned Bishops and Clergymen.

Inte-

Integrity and Honesty, Innocency and Holiness, who during the *Marian Persecution* had fled into *Germany*; or being driven from their Churches, lurked up and down the Nation in obscure and remote places; these she recalled and restored to their former or better Stations, with more honour than they had been in before. So that after a *Recess of Five years Duration*, these men, who had been banished with Ignominy, were with Honour and Reputation repossessed of their Countrey, their Good Names, and their Liberties and Fortunes. She re granted to them all their Ancient Privileges, with some Improvements; and she took such as were of good report for their Learning and exemplary Lives, and set them to Govern the Church as BISHOPS. When any man was commended to her as a man of Learning, she would ask if there were not others to be found, of more Learning and Piety, to whose Authority, Fidelity, and Prudence, she might recommend the Care of the Church?

She

She took great care to curb the immoderate Liberty of the *PURITANS*, who licentiously began to sow Discords and Divisions in the Church, and with a Fiery Zeal in their Preachments endeavoured to excite the common people, (who were then quiet and at ease) to Sedition, by declaiming against the Jurisdiction and Authority of the Bishops; and by her Prudence and Authority she reduced many of the first Leaders, from their rash courses to a moderate Temper. In the Eighteenth year of her Reign, (*A. C. 1575.*) the *Anabaptists* first appeared, or at least were discovered to be in *England*; a Conventicle of *Dutch-men* of that Sect, being then detected without *Aldgate* in *London*, and Twenty seven of the Meeters were taken up and Imprisoned; of which Four bearing Faggots at *Paul's Cross*, recanted their dangerous Opinions, and one *Dutch-man* and ten Women were condemned to be burnt; one of the Ten Women also recanted; eight others were banished; but two of the number continued so obstinate, that the Queen ordered the Writ *de Heretico Comburendo*,

And to curb the immoderate liberty of the Protestant Dissenters.

Anabaptists discovered.

rends, to be issued against them, tho Mr. *John Fox*, the Author of the Book of Martyrs, interceded with the Queen to spare their lives, and banish them. In this Letter he *blesseth* God, that none of the English were infected with these mad Opinions. And (saith he) I will most readily grant, That these *F A N A T I C K* Sects are by no means to be cherished in any State, but are to be severely corrected; but to exterminate them with Fire and Faggot is, I think, too hard. The Queen thereupon gave them a Months Reprieve, and ordered that Learned Divines should endeavour in that time to reduce them; which proving without effect, these two were burnt in *Smithfield*, the 22d. of July, and they died in great horror, with crying and roaring. In the Twenty sixth Year of her Reign, one *Robert Brown*, an English Clergy-man, began a new Sect also in the City of *Norwich*, his Hearers being half Dutch, half English: The Queen endeavoured to suppress this Schism in its Rise, and prohibited his Books, but that not taking effect, *Thacker* and *Coping*, two of his Disciples, were hanged at *St. Edmonds-Bury*

Two of
which were
burnt.

The Brownists.

Bury in Suffolk. The Queen was the more severe upon these Sects, because her Subjects were then untainted; and these men made it their business to draw in the unlearned multitude, and enflame them both against the Ecclesiastick and Civil Government; and the Queen besides having before this time been forced to be very severe against some Popish Traitors that had conspired against her, she did not think it became her to be less concerned for the Majesty of God, than for her own Personal Safety. After this she caused their *Conventicles* to be carefully watched, and seized the Effects of all Foreign Sectaries she found in *England*. She dealt more gently in the mean time with the *English Puritans*, who were the first beginners of the *English* Separation, and left them to the Discipline of the Bishops and the *High Commission*, where they were often call'd to account, for Reproaching the Church, Licentious Preachments, and Libelling the Bishops in their Prints. Having taken these effectual Cares for the Adorning and Confirming the Church, she committed all the other Concerns of Religi-

Conventicles suppressed.

on to the Management of Peaceable, Moderate, and Judicious men, and spent her whole Care and Solitude in preserving, adorning, and strengthening her State and Kingdoms. In all this time she was never severe against Any *Papist*, who had not first been clearly convicted to have raised Sedition, armed the People against her, or by Rumors and false Insinuations to have endeavoured to render the Queen odious and contemptible to her People.

The Behaviour of Pope
Fius IV.

The Council
of Trent re-
called.

P I U S IV. Pope of Rome, in the beginning of her Reign (*A. C.* 1561.) having deeply considered the Dangers and Ruin which then threatened the Papacy and Church of Rome, though he was enraged against the *Protestants* to the utmost degree, yet seeing how little the Passions and Violences of the last Pope *Paul IV.* had profited them; he thought it became him to act a contrary part; and recalled the Council of *T R E N T*, which had been some years before indicted by the Authority of the See of Rome, rather for the upholding the Pope's pretended Ecclesiastical Authority, than for the promoting the Salvation of men; and

and which, when things succeeded contrary to the expectation of his Predecessors in that See, had been frequently intermitted, and had not been assembled since the year 1552, but was now again renewed, as the only means left for the healing the Wounds of *Christendom*. In this Council many things which had by the Mistakes, Ambition, and Avarice of the Popes of *Rome*, been changed and corrupted, were considered and debated; and particularly that grand Question was to be determined, *Concerning the Authority and Power of the Pope in Sacred and Civil Causes*. When the Protestant Princes were call'd to this Council, they answered, That *they did not own the Pope had any Power to call a Council. That it did not belong to him, but to the Emperor to Indict Councils. That he had no Right to give or take away Kingdoms. And having sharply declaimed against the corrupt Manners of his Clergy, and deplored the Calamities of the times on that account, they represented the Pride, Pomp, Luxury, Ambition, Avarice, and Cruelty of the Court of Rome, in which mere Wolves took upon them the Office of the Pastors*

The Plea of
the Protestant
Princes a-
gainst it.

The Character of

of the Church. And they said, this Council at Trent was not called to Establish Religion and true Piety, but to confirm the Inventions of men, or rather of Satan; not for the reforming the Lives and Manners of men, but to defend the Pretended Dignity of the See of Rome, and the vast and boundless Authority of the Pope. That it was not intended for the Purging the Christian Flock, but for the Establishing and Confirming their inveterate Errors. Tho the Pope had had these sharp Replies from the German Protestant Princes; and the Guise's and Spanish Faction had represented to him, That it would be an undervaluing of his Power and Person, to send a Nuncio to England, where he would certainly be rejected; yet Pius IV. would not be discouraged, but said, He would humble himself even to Heresie it self, in regard that whatsoever was done to gain Souls to Christ, did beseech that See. And accordingly he sent Abbot Mar-

Martiningo
sent Nuncio
into England.

tingo to the Queen, who came as far as Flanders, and there he met with her Commands not to cross the Seas, but at his Peril; and altho the King of Spain and the Emperor of Germa-

ny did earnestly intreat he might be heard, yet the Queen stood her ground, and replied, That she could not treat with the Bishop of *Rome*, whose Authority was for ever excluded out of *England* by Act of Parliament. Nay, she would give the Pope's *Nuncio* no other Answer, but a *flat Denial*; tho she gave this reason to the *French* and *Spaniards*, to give them some satisfaction: For she well perceived this Remedy did not tend to the healing the Wounds of the Church, but to the making them incurable; and the Event justified her Conduct.

In the mean time the Queen clearly foresaw, that the Restoring the Protestants to their Native Countrey, and their former Stations, would disoblige all the Popish Nobility of *England*; who tho for the present they suppressed their Resentment, yet when occasion was offered, they would not fail to do her the utmost Mischief that was in their Power. The only noise of the coming of a *Nuncio* from the Pope, encouraged many to break the Laws made against the Pope and his Authority, with great boldness; and

The Popish Party well disposed to rebel.

The Character of

they spread false Reports abroad, *That the Queen was going to change her Religion, and alter the Government of the Realm*; to dispose the Protestants to join with the Papists in a Rebellion to her Ruin. She saw also, that at length she should be involved in a Foreign War, and that the *Pope* would fulminate against her; all which Dangers the Greatness of her Soul despised. She also changed her Privy-Council, into which she chose *Protestants* of famed Prudence and Moderation; and she openly and avowedly broke the Power, and lessened the Authority of her *Popish Nobility and Gentry*. The *Pope* having at this time sent a *Legate* into *Ireland*, who had joined himself to some desperate Traytors then in Rebellion against her, and endeavouring to deprive her of all Right and Title to that Kingdom; Some others of that Persuasion were found also to have practised with the Devil by Conjurations, Charms, and casting Figures, to be informed of the Length and Continuance of her Reign; but *Heaven* would not, and *Hell* could not help them.

The

The Affairs of the Church being thus settled, she applied her mind to restore the Civil State of *England* to its Ancient Strength and Happiness, it having been strangely shaken by the Factions and Divisions in the Three Reigns that preceded hers: To this purpose she passed many Acts of Parliament, and other State-Orders for her own Security, and the Welfare of her Subjects. She made some new Additions to the old Laws, for the better Administration of her Civil Government, for the Promoting the common Interest of her Subjects, or for the Regulating her Parliaments: She enriched her Kingdom also; and whereas she found a great part of the current Money of *England* adulterated and mixed with Brass, she reduced it all to the old Standard, and made it good **STERLING**. She furnished all her Havens, Sea-Ports, Cities, and Frontier places, with Garisons, Forts, Castles, Cannon, Ball, Gun-powder, and Provisions. She took care to have her own Gunpowder made in *England*, which before had been fetch'd in from abroad. She cast great quantities of Brass and Iron Ordnance, after she

The Settlement of the Civil State taken into consideration.

The Money reduced to the old Standard.

The Security of the Nation providently taken care for.

had discovered a plentiful Mine of Brass at *K E S W I C K* in *Cumberland*. She fortified *B E R W I C K* anew, and caused all the Frontier places towards *Scotland* to be repaired, and placed Garisons of good Soldiers in them. Tho she was upon better terms with the *Scots*, than any of her Ancestors for many Ages had been, especially after they embraced the Reformed Religion, yet she would not so wholly rely on their good affections, as to neglect a timely provision for her own Security: And when all these great Designs had brought a Debt upon the Crown, she chose rather to sell a part of her Crown-Lands to pay it, than be over-burthened to her People. She ordered also the Debts contracted by her Father and Brother (but neglected by her Sister) to be paid. She provided a great *Magazine*, and furnished her Kingdom with plentiful Stores of Arms and Ammunition, and all sorts of Warlike Provisions, that she might always have at hand whatever was needful to secure her against the sudden Insults of her Foreign Enemies, or any Insurrections which might be raised
at

Magazines
and Naval
Stores provided.

at home. She caused her Forces to be often drawn out, viewed, and mustered, and with Honours and other Rewards she recompenced those that in this kind had deserved well of her; by which she much encouraged her Soldiers and Sea-men. She encreased her Fleet, and built many large Men of War, and furnished her Naval Stores with whatever was needful; and she encreased the Wages of her Mariners and Seamen, and appointed a Guard of Ships to ride always in the *Downs*, for the Security of the *British* Seas; and carefully scoured the Seas by her Men of War, and purged them from Pyrates and Sea-Robbers; so that in all her time the Seas were secure, safe, and open. Dr. *Heylin* in his History of the Reformation, acquaints us that she began these Preparations in the year 1560. 'And that holding it a safer Maxim in the Schools of Policy, not to Admit, than to endeavour by strong hand to Expel an Enemy, she entertained the fortunate thoughts of Walling her Kingdom round about with a puissant *Navy*; for our Merchants had already encreased their Shipping, by managing some part of that Wealthy

Large Ships of War built.

'thy Trade which formerly had been
 'Monopolized by the *Hanse-Towns* or
 ' *Easterlings*. And thereupon she re-
 'solved not to be wanting to her self
 'in Building Ships of such Burthen,
 'and so fit for Service, as might ena-
 'ble her in a short time not only to
 'Protect her Merchants, but to Com-
 'mand the Ocean : Of which the *Spa-*
 ' *niard* found good proof, to his great
 'Loss, and almost to his total Ruin,
 'in the last Twenty years of her Glo-
 'rious Government. At the same time,
 'by her Proclamation, dated *Novem-*
 ' *ber* 15. 1560. she commanded all the
 ' *Easterling, Flemish, and Spanish* Mo-
 'neys to be brought into the Mint,
 'to take the Stamp of her Royal Au-
 'thority, or otherwise not to pass for
 'current Money in her Kingdom ;
 'which had a strange effect, and en-
 'riched both her and her People.

The means
 by which she
 improved and
 enriched her
 Kingdom.

She invited all sorts of *Artificers* in-
 to *England* ; and by proposing to them
 good terms and great Privileges, she
 repeopled the almost-desolate City of
NORWICH, and the Towns of
COLCHESTER and *MAID-*
STON : She encreased the Inhabi-
 tants

tants of many of her other Ancient Towns; and she by her Laws reduced the Inhabitants of the Countrey-Villages from Laziness and Beggary, to Labour and Husbandry; so that there was no part of her Kingdom but was cultivated and improved to the best advantage. When she was to settle any thing relating to her *Revenues, her Treasury, or the Administration of justice*, she admitted none to advise her, but men of good Knowledge and Experience in those Affairs. If she considered of any *Military Concerns*, she always call'd to her Assistance the old Experienc'd Commanders, which had spent much time in Camps. She was as careful to give a good and a prudent Dispatch of Publick Transactions, and the great Affairs of private men, Ambassies, the Petitions of her Subjects, the Requests of her Allies and Confederates, and all matters concerning Commerce and Trade with Foreigners. She took the opportunity of the times, and her Subjects Affections to her, to curb the Luxury of Youth, all immoderate Expences and waste in Cloathes and other Furniture, and by severe Laws carefully

fully put in Execution. She reduced her People to the Ancient Thrift, when they were declining towards Effeminacy and over-great Expences, which are ever the fore-runners of Poverty, and the Causes of great Calamities and Revolutions in all those States they have prevailed in.

Laws and Orders made for the publick good of her people.

She went on to consider and provide whatever was recommended to her as useful to any part of her State, carefully viewing the Conveniencies and the Inconveniencies that were annexed to every Change. And whatever was at last found useful and profitable to the Body of her People, was settled by the Authority of her Council or Parliament, as the case required. She procured the Repeal of all those Laws which were either unprofitable or unjust; and she brought others which were out of use, into esteem again, and amended the defects that were found in them. It was a Maxim with her, That *Equitable Laws, and Equal Justice* are the two sure and lasting Foundations of a State. She was as much revered and feared on the account of her *Justice, Temperance,*

perance, and Continnence, as on that of her Royal Authority and Majesty.

She favoured the Protestant Bishops, and the Commons of *England*, as a means to curb the Insolence of the Nobility. She would never gratifie any great Ambitious man with the grant of any thing which might inflame his Avarice, or make him arrogant. She had a true value, and a good esteem for all men of illustrious Parts, and of good Learning; and she preferr'd such men to all Employments, and rewarded their Virtue with Honours. When the meaner people at any time crowded about her Coach, with great desire to see and salute her with loud Shouts, and fervent Prayers for her Prosperity, and long and happy Reign over them; she would ever return their Loyal Zeal with much Courtship and Civility; so that some said she was too Theatrical in her Carriage towards them; but as by her Meekness, Clemency, Lenity, Justice, and the settling good Laws and exact Justice, she had won their hearts, so by this Condescension and Flattery she fixed their Affections, so that they

The Bishops
and Com-
mons favour-
ed, as a Balance
to the Nobility.

The Character of

they would have willingly sacrificed all they had, to her Service and Safety. She exercised a moral Friendship and Familiarity with many private persons; *and ever reserved in her sole disposal all the Rewards of Virtue and good Service.* She would never suffer any Immunities or Privileges, Benefices, Church-Livings, Governments, or the Rights of her Kingdom, to be openly sold. She advanced her Friends, Kinsmen, and Relations, with great Kindness and Affection, and no less Moderation and Prudence. She made Sir *Henry Cary, Lord Hunsdon*, who was her Cousin-German; and she gave him Riches, Employments, and Attendance suitable to that Station. She advanced *William Lord Howard of Effingham*, on the score of his being related to her, and of his good Deserts, to be *Lord Chamberlain of England*; of her own free motion, without any solicitation from themselves or others. She preserved the Family of *Seymour*, (which was ruin'd by the Attainder of *Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset*, Uncle and Lord Protector of King *Edward VI.* in the year 1552.) and in the first year of her Reign she restored

She favoured
her Kindred,
and advanced
them.

red Edward his Son to the degree of Earl of Hertford: She restored also several of the Nobility, whose Families had been ruined by her Sister, and put them into the same condition they were before. *She Attainted no man in all her Reign, by Act of Parliament.* No man ever could perceive, that the least remainders of any Offence were left in her mind; but when she could most easily have revenged her self, she always chose rather to forget the Injury; so that every man presently promised himself a better Fortune for the future. If there was any Quarrel between any of the great Nobility, she presently made it her business to reconcile them each to other; and *she would on such occasions exhort them, not to suffer any Enmity to settle between their Families; that they should not involve their Children, and educate them in the Dissentions of their Families, and a desire of Revenge: That they should cut off those Feuds that had descended to them from the Contests of their Ancestors; and with an invincible Courage repress the Foreign Fury of their Enemies abroad; but with one heart and one mouth provide for the Safety*
and

Her advice to the Nobility.

*The Character of
and Security of their Native Countrey
at home.*

Her care to
change or
abolish evil
Customs and
Laws of for-
mer times.

As she took this care to put an end to the Dissentions of her Nobilty, so she was no less careful to root up those evil Customs which had crept into the Nation in the former Reigns, and tended apparently to the Ruin of it; some of these she corrected, and others she totally abolished. *She rescinded all Sales that were made for the cheating Creditors; she dealt very severely with all those that were found guilty of any Frauds or Cheats in the Management of the Publick Revenues, or the purveyance for her Court; which she was wont to call Harpies, which fouled and ravaged all they could come at; and she discouraged as much as was possible, all the tricks and corruptions of the Courts of Justice: She encreased the Wages and Salaries of the Judges; and that they might the better be enabled and encouraged to go their Circuits, and administer Justice to her people, she allowed them Travelling-Money and Purveyance.* The effect of this prudent Administration was the enriching her and her Subjects, attend-
ed

ed with great Glory, and a willing obedience from those under her happy Government. The Countrey was rarely well Tilled and improved. The Subject quiet and rich, and her *Councils* and *Parliaments* honoured and revered. In short, all those Perfections which separately have made so many Great Men admired, met in this one Lady, *viz.* Civil Prudence, for the Government of a State; the knowledge of Equity and Laws; and an exact Skill of managing a Kingdom, and the Publick Affairs of it. Her Government was not like that of most other Women, turbulent and insolent; but was grateful to her Subjects, pleasing to the People, acceptable to the Nobility and Gentry, equal and just to her Allies, and admired by the Neighbour Nations. She has been celebrated not only in her own times, but in all that have since followed, and will be to the end of the world, on the account of these Divine Virtues and Deserts; *For she was truly accounted the Parent of her People, a Prince by her Nobles, and the Patroness of true Piety and Religion, by the Protestant Nations about her.* Nor was

there ever any Prince that was equally esteemed and loved by the Nobility and Commonalty too of his own Kingdom, as Queen *ELIZABETH* was by hers. If she happened at any time to be sick, or ever so little disordered in her health, her Nobility would be so alarmed at it, that they would willingly never stir from her to eat or drink, or take any care of themselves; and all degrees of people would fly in vast Numbers to the Churches, and with Tears and the most devout Prayers beg her Life and Health, and the Continuance of her Government over them, till God heard their Petitions, and restored her to her Health. Nor was this an enjoined and formal Devotion, but it was as hearty and as earnest as that which is made for the nearest and dearest Relations: And when they had obtained their desire, the Joy and the Gratitude they expressed, shewed they took her Preservation and Life for a Publick and an Universal Blessing. When in the beginning of her Reign she had first taken care to reform and settle *Religion*, and after that to redress and restore the *Civil State* or
Go.

Government of *England*, (which had been brought by the Calamities of the foregoing Reigns, not only into a deplorable, but almost into a desperate condition, but now were by her Authority, Prudence, and Moderation, with the Assistance of her Council, brought to the state of Tranquility, Order, and Equity she designed); the Fears of *England* which before oppress'd the Nation in relation to Foreign Dangers as well as Domestick, expired.

When her first Parliament had settled the *Succession* and *Religion*, their next care was for the Marriage of the *Queen*, and the providing for future times; and accordingly, the *Commons*, by common consent resolved to *Address* to the *Queen*, (fearing, though without just cause), That she should Marry a Foreign Prince, and thereby bring the *English* Liberties, and the Protestant Religion, into the same dangers they had been exposed to in the former Reign. 'They therefore 'represented the Affections of the 'Nation to her, and said, If they could 'hope she might be Immortal, they

1559. The Parliament Address to the Queen to Marry.

F 2

' would

‘ would rest satisfied ; but that being
 ‘ a vain Imagination , they earnestly
 ‘ besought her to chuse such an Hus-
 ‘ band as might make her self and the
 ‘ Nation happy ; and by the Blessing
 ‘ of God bring such Issue as might
 ‘ Reign after her Death, which they
 ‘ prayed God might be very late. To
 this she replied, *That tho the Subject*

Which she re-
 fused, and in
 a set Speech
 told them, she
 resolved to
 live in
 Celibacy.

*they came about was not acceptable to
 her, yet it was a great satisfaction to
 her, to see how zealous they and her
 other Subjects were for her Welfare,
 and that she believed they desired it for
 her's and the Nation's Good. And as
 to the changing my present state, (said
 she) and Marrying , which you so ear-
 nestly desire I would do, I have long since
 persuaded my self, That I was brought
 into the world by the special Provi-
 dence of God, that I might in the
 first place think and do what tended
 most to his Glory : Therefore I have
 chosen that state of Life which is the
 freest from human cares, that so I might
 be at leisure only to attend the Service
 of God And if it had been possible for
 the Marriage of a Potent Prince to
 have allured me, or the Fears of Death
 to have affrighted me from this Reso-
 lution,*

lution, I might have been long since engaged in the Honourable State of Matrimony: and these were my thoughts when I was yet a Subject: But now when all the Cares which attend the Governing of a Kingdom, are come upon me, it would appear a very inconsiderate and imprudent thing in me, to add to them the Cares of a Married State. In truth (said she) I am a'ready married (if nothing else will satisfie you) to the Kingdom of ENGLAND. See (what I wonder you could forget) the Pledge of my Marriage and betrothing to the Nation: And stretching out her hand, she shewed them on one of the Fingers of her Right Hand, the Gold Ring had been put upon it, according to the Custom, at her Coronation. And after a short pause, she thus went on: And I desire you would not loo' upon me as Childless, and on that account weak and defenceless; for you and all other English-men are my Children and Kinsmen; and if God doth not deprive me of you, (as I hope he will not), there can be no reason why I should be thought Childless. Yet I cannot but commend you for this; That you have not prescribed or appointed

The Character of

who should be my Husband ; for this would have been a very great Affront to a Sovereign Prince as I am, and very misbecoming you who are my Subjects born : But if ever it should please the Divine Majesty to incline me to change my Condition, I promise you I will never do any thing that shall tend to the Damage of the State ; but will to the utmost of my power take such an Husband, as shall take as much Care of the Kingdom as I do. But then if I should continue in my present State of Life, I do not doubt, but that God will so direct mine and your Counsels, that there shall be no doubt of my Successor, who may be more beneficial to the Kingdom, than one born of me ; for it is often observed, That the Children of the Best Princes do degenerate from the Virtues of their Parents. And as for me, it will be the best Memorial and the greatest Honour I can wish to leave behind me, to have this Inscription after my Death upon my Tomb, **HERE LIES A QUEEN THAT REIGNED SO LONG, AND LIVED AND DIED A VIRGIN.** And she concluded, That she took their Address in good part, and desired them to carry back her Thanks
for

for the Care the Commons had of her.

By this means it came to pass, that many Noblemen of great Estate and Power, especially such as enjoyed the Blessings of Nature and Fortune, Beauty and Wealth, united together, conceived an almost certain hopes, that they should win their Maiden Queen, and were by her Arts carried on in that expectation. But on the contrary, tho she lived in a Royal Plenty, and was attacked by the Blandishments of Nature, and a multitude of external pleasing Objects, yet she persisted in the Resolution she had taken, and with a constant and unmoveable Soul preferred her Maiden State to any Marriage. Though she was almost every night tempted to change her Resolution, by the Luxury, Chearfulness, and Wantonness of a Court which shewed it self in Interludes, Banquets, and Balls, and was surrounded on all sides with the Enticements of Pleasures, and the things which might provoke the most cool and languid Lust; yet she preserved her self from being Conquered or broken by them: For the Fear of God, and a true Sense of Piety extinguished in her all Feminine In-

Her wonderful Temperance and Chastity.

temperance and Lust. Though she was the Sovereign and Mistress of all, she did nothing that was insolent; tho she had an abundance of Wealth at her Command, she was not dissolute, but she governed her self by the severest Rules of Chastity and Continence. Yet her Juvenile Age, (for she was then about Twenty five years old) and the Intemperance which will ever attend a Court, gave occasion to some injurious Reports; but then she as easily washed off that slanderous Infamy, which was one of the most raging Crimes of the Age, by the incredible Continence and Chastity of her whole Life; her Modesty and Prudence over-ruling and controuling the Natural Inclination and Disposition. Her *Maids of Honour*, who waited on her, took a wonderful pleasure in her Manners, her Discourses, and Conversation, and wholly applied themselves to imitate her, borrowing from her examples of Modesty and Chastity; so that they would never suffer any young Nobleman to have any familiar Acquaintance with any of them, if he had not recommended himself to them by some Generous Manly Action in the Wars. A.

Amongst those who in the several parts of her Life aspired to the Honour of her Bed, *Edward Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, and Marquess of Exeter*, was the first who courted her in her youngest years: And after him, *Christian III. King of Denmark*, for his Son *Frederick*; after this, *Ferdinand* the Emperor desired her for his Son *Charles*; *Philip II. King of Spain*, * *Erix King of Sweden*, and * *Adolph* † In 1560. Duke of *Holstein*; the Dukes of † *An-† In 1568.* *jou* and † *Alençon*, both Princes of the † In 1574. House of *France*, desired to have Married her; but all this was to no purpose; for when she had by these Treaties deluded them, and secured her self, she ever after pretended, That at her Coronation she had obliged her self not to Marry a Foreign Prince. Yet there were some at home, who after this deceived themselves with these deluding hopes; amongst whom was *James Earl of Arran*, a Scotch Nobleman, who was recommended to the Queen for an Husband, by the Protestants of that Kingdom, as the best means of Uniting *England* and *Scotland*; but though she commended this Gentleman, yet she rejected the Proposal.

posal. There was also one Sir *William Pickering*, a Gentleman who had improved himself by Ambassies and the *French* Breeding, who aspired to it, tho it was so much above his Fortunes. And *Thomas Howard*, Earl of *Arundel*, afterwards Duke of *Norfolk*, one descended of one of the Noblest and Richest Families in the *English* Nation, and a person of great Interest and Authority, though he was advanced in years, yet he would also very fain have married the Queen; but when he perceived his Old Age was ridicul'd and despised, he left the Court, and went abroad, and never came back again into *England*.

By degrees
she became
more averse
to Marriage
than she
seemed at first
to be.

She persisted in this Resolution of *Celibacy*, with a Constancy that was admired then, and ever since; and at last she would grow angry when any of her Subjects spake to her of Marriage, which they as passionately desired, as she declined it. The reason of this was wonderfully exagitated in the thoughts of men, and some were very unmannerly (to speak the best of it) in their Conjectures; whilst others ascribed it, with much more proba-

probability, to an habit of Chastity, which put a Curb upon all irregular Desires; or the fears of changing her Fortune, and diminishing her Authority; it being but reasonable she should suspect, that whosoever had Married her, would have taken upon him the principal Administration, and so have abated her Power and Reputation: others ascribed it to the Counsel of her Friends, who yet prevailed with her to suffer Treaties of Marriage to be carried on, to render Foreign Princes more favourable to her Interests, by the hopes of attaining her at last. But whatever was the true Cause of it, which can be certainly known to none but God, had this Queen been of the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, this single Virtue would have gone a great way to the Canonizing of her, as it has of many others; and she certainly would have much more deserved it, than any of the best that have been Sainted on that account only.

The common people of *England* for a long time most firmly believed, That *Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester*, and

The character of the Earl of Leicester,

and *Lord Steward of the House* to her Majesty, would be the man that would marry the Queen: He was youngest Son to *John Dudley Duke of Northumberland*, who with his Elder Sons, *John* call'd Earl of *Warwick*, *Sir Ambrose*, *Sir Guilford*, and *Sir Henry Dudley*, had been found Guilty of High Treason, and the Father, and *Sir Guilford* a younger Son, was beheaded in the first year of *Queen Mary's* Reign; when this *Robert* (who was the youngest Son his Father had then living) was spared merely on the account of his youth, and never Tried or Dishonoured. This Gentleman in his younger years was a very goodly Person, of a Beautiful and Lovely Complexion and Features, but high foreheaded, which yet was not then thought any diminution of his Beauty; he was a very great Politician, but no great Soldier; and tho he was not over-righteous in his Actions, yet in his Letters there was not known a Stile more *Religious*, and fuller of the streams of Devotion. This Favourite was then in the Verdure and most Flowering Spring of his Youth, of a Stately Carriage, a Modest and Grave Look,

Look, a great Flatterer, of a pleasant and easie nature in outward shew or appearance ; and being endowed with all those Accomplishments the *City* or *Court* could teach him, in which he had had his Education, he had insinuated himself into the Favour and Familiarity of the Queen, by his specious shews of Loyalty, Industry, and Vigilance in her Service, and for a long time managed the greatest Station in the Court, and was reputed the First Minister of State, though his Counsels were not over-fortunate. His Brother *Ambrose* was Heir to the Estate, and he to the Wisdom of that Family ; for he had all the Arts of the *Publican Dudley*, his Grandfather, and the Policies of *Northumberland* his Father. He was the most reserved man of that Age, that saw all, and was invisible, carrying a depth not to be fathomed, but by the *Searcher of Hearts*. He became in his latter times fullen to his Superiors, haughty towards his Equals, insolent to his Inferiors, ungrateful to his Friends, and pernicious to his Enemies, and in a word, intolerable to all but the Queen. She made him first Master of her Horse,

Horfe, and after *Earl of Leiceſter*, for the Sufferings of his Anceſtors, both in her Father's and Siſter's Reign: But the common people, who very rarely penetrate into the Thoughts of Princes, aſcribed all his Power and good Fortune to his Wit and Carriage, which was formed by Nature and Art, to the alluring of the ſofter Sex, he being of a very taking Behaviour, and an excellent *Dancer*, ſo that one of the beſt *Dances* of that Age, was called by his Name, *The Leiceſter Dance*. When he found the Tide of Fortune flowing according to his Ambitious Wiſhes, his heart was too much lifted up; and being ſometimes confounded by the Number of his Attendants, and thoſe that waited upon and viſited him, he would forget their Names, and call them by that of other men. He often changed his Cloathes, and affected Gallantry to an Exceſs. He put himſelf forward, and took up the diſtant Employments of *Peace* and *War*, in excluſion of others who had more Experience, (eſpecially in War) and were Nobly born. He was continually plodding to find the Studies, Abilities, Forces, and Diſpoſitions of
other

other men; and so great was his Application and Parts, that he rarely miscarried in his Enquiries. He would terrifie and sometimes destroy his Enemies, and allure his Friends by the shews of Rewards: He by his Interest advanced his Dependants, Kindred and Relations, to Honours and Employments; And when he found his opportunity, he as craftily sold his Mistress's Favours, and the Employments he had taken from others: He did the same by the Livings of the Church, but then he took Bonds and other Securities, to avoid the Penalties of *Simony*. Yet there were few for a great while called to the Council-Table, or admitted to Titles of Honour, but by his Commendation and Procurement; so that he seemed not so much to be the Queen's particular *Favourite*, as her Partner in the Royal Power; and he was accordingly courted and revered by the rest of the Nobility.

The Queen made him *Earl of Leicester* in the year 1564. she gave him also a considerable Estate out of the Crown Lands, and advanced him from *Master of the Horse*, to *Lord Steward*
of

She Prefer'd
him in Title
and estate,
and advanced
his Brother.

of her Household. She had made *Am-
brose Dudley*, his eldest Brother, (then
living, for *John* the eldest of them
died a Prisoner in the Reign of Queen
Mary, without Issue), about two years
before Earl of *Warwick*; and enriched
him with the Grant of a plentiful
Estate to bear the Charge of that Ho-
nour; much of which being made up
out of the Estates that had been for-
feited to the Crown, this and the sud-
den Rise of these two Brothers, who
had not done any considerable Service
to the Nation, that was known, ei-
ther in Peace or War, made them
envied and hated not only by the
Nobility and Courtiers, but by the
Populace: And *Leicester* increased the
Aversion of all men, by his licentious
and expensive way of living, and by
his Rapins which he craftily made
upon many; he in other Instances
perverted the Laws, and invaded the
last Wills and Testaments of the Dead:
He ruined many of his Neighbours
by cunning and tedious Law-Suits to
get their Estates which lay conveni-
ent for him: In the mean time he
gave himself up intirely to the exer-
cise of a most wicked and universal
Luxury,

Luxury, and brought into *England* from Foreign Countreys, many new and unheard-of Pleasures, and invented new kinds of Dishes to gratifie his Gluttony: He would drink dissolved *Pearls* and *Amber* to excite his Lust; and had so accustomed himself to the scents of *Musk* and *Civet*, that when he went *General* into the *Low-Countries*, he could not live without them; so that in short, he very much exceeded the Intemperance of all former times, and made an accursed addition to the ruining-disorders of men. His Example corrupted many of the younger Nobility also, who being prone to Luxury, very easily imitated his Vices, and thought that the height of human Happiness was in Pleasures; and therefore wholly neglecting the Care and Improvement of their Minds, spent all their Time, Money, and Thoughts on the Dressing themselves after the *French* Fashion, and pleasing their Senses. The ill effects of Luxury.

Who can conceive the Poverty that followed these immense Expences? And the bold Adventures these impoverished Gallants were forced upon to supply their Wants? Desperation and Effeminacy making them outrageous to

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the

the Ruin of the State. Certainly there is nothing that is more destructive to a Nation, and consequently more to be avoided, than the Feasts and Riots of a prodigal *Apicius*, or the Luxury and Banquets of a profuse *Lucullus*. Thus was *Fitz-Alan* the last Earl of *Arun-
del*, and *Edward de Vere*, Lord High Chamberlain of England, and Earl of *Oxford*, the Baron of *Windsor*, and many rich Knights and Gentlemen, who might have been the Ornaments of their Countrey, by his ill Example and Conversation drawn into great Expences, Chargeable Feasts, Balls, and Interludes, and an excessive Gallantry, the common Attendants of too much Ease and Plenty; by which they much wasted their Estates, and impoverished their Families; and their Bodies also were much softened and unmann'd by their Excesses and Sloth; and the generous Inclinations and Faculties of their Souls stifled and weakned by the Charms of Pleasures.

His designs
in debauch-
ing the No-
bility.

There are some who think that the crafty Earl of *Leicester* designed this debauching the Prime Nobility of *Eng-
land*, when he entred upon this way of
living,

living, that he might by it render them weak and contemptible: But however, it is most certain, the great influence he had upon the *Queen*, and his being the Prime Minister of State; and acquainted with all her Counsels and Intentions, made him extremely hated by all the rest. He had by his cunning and crafty Projects and Counsels, engrossed all the Rewards of Virtue, Riches, Honours, Attendants, and the first Place of Minister of State, and he managed them, and lived without any Religion towards God, or Fidelity to men, making it his great design to cover all things with Luxury, Cruelty, and Rapines. With whom did he continue in a constant Friendship? What good man did not find him an Enemy? He was to the utmost degree ungrateful to all his Friends; and if any of his Enemies had at any time a little too freely expressed their Resentments against his Dishonesty, Wickedness, Injuries, Power, or Perfidy, (as he gave men too frequent occasions to reflect on them) he seldom failed to cause them to be treacherously murdered. *Many fell in his time (saith a Great Man of that Age) who saw not the hand that*

pull'd them down; and as many died, that knew not their own disease: He would not trust his Familiars above one year, but either Transported them to Foreign Services, or waisted them to another world. In the year 1583, he caused one Mr. Edward Adern, a Generous, but Imprudent and Rash Gentleman, a zealous Roman-Catholick, and a great Defamer of others, to be drawn into Troubles, by the means of one Somervil (a mad Papist) his Father-in-Law, and one Hall, a Popish Priest; and being found guilty of Treason, he, his Wife, Somervil, and the Priest, were all sentenced to die. Somervil hanged himself in Prison, Adern was executed, and Hall the Author and Procurer of all this Mischief, was preserved by the Intercession of Leicester. This was by all men looked upon a Spectacle of great Compassion. He laid Snares for many of the Nobility, ruining the Reputation of some of them, endangering the Lives of others; and some Noble Families he utterly extinguished. He impiously and sacrilegiously invaded the Revenues of the Church, and brought some of the Bishops into Danger and Dis-favour. He incensed the Queen against the Lord
Arch-

Archbishop Grindal, a Prelate of great Integrity and Honesty, by his Calumnies and Slanders. This Grave and Religious Prelate was (as Mr. *Cambden* Anno 1583. saith) first made Bishop of *London*, then Archbishop of *York*, and afterwards of *Canterbury*, and for many years enjoyed the Favour of the *Queen*, till by the crafty Insinuations of *Leicester*, she was set against him, upon a pretence and slanderous Report, That he was a Favourer of the Conventicles of the turbulent *Puritan Preachers*, and of their Preachments; but in truth because he would not patiently dissemble the Disorders of one *Julio* an *Italian Physician*, and a Favourite of *Leicester's*, who had Married another man's Wife, for which the good Prelate stoutly prosecuted him, though *Leicester* appeared for the Criminal.

The best of Princes, after all the Care and prudent Foresight that Mortality is capable of, are yet sometimes deceived in the choice of their Servants. *Leicester* having married the Countess Dowager of *Essex*, who was a Widow when his first Lady died, and having no Children of his own, was easily persuaded

Leicester recommended
Robert Earl of
Essex to the
Queen.

swaded by his Wife to recommend *Robert Dervereux*, the young *Earl of Essex*, her Son, to the Queen, as one fit to serve her Majesty; and by this he opened the way to that great man, and brought him with good advantage into the Court, and into Business. Nor would this Nobleman afterwards refuse to acknowledge, That all the Authority and Favour he had acquired with the Queen, was owing in a great measure to the Assistance his *Step-Father* had at first given him.

The Actions
of that Earl
in Holland.

When he had some time served as a Volunteer, first under his own Father in *Ireland*, and after in other places, he was made *General of the Horse*, and *Field-Marshal*, under the Earl of *Leicester*; when in the year 1585, he went *General of the English Forces* in the *Low-Countries*. In this Expedition this Noble Gentleman behaved himself with that Courage, Bravery, Moderation, and Prudence, that he won the Love and Esteem of the whole Army; and by that Reputation he became very Popular, which afterwards was the occasion of his Ruin. The truth was, he for *Honesty*, *Valour*, *Liberality*,
and

His Character.

and Sincerity, was equal to the best of the Nobility of his time; but in Prudence and Discretion he was inferior to many. He for a long time enjoyed the Favour of the Queen, which his goodness prompted him freely to employ to the doing good, and to the relief of the indigent and oppressed; so that all his Greatness seemed only to be lodged in him as Water in a Cistern, for the good of others. He was not observed to be addicted to any Vice, but that of *Missing* and *Luxury*; but as to all his other Appetites, he had them in a tolerable subjection to his Reason. In the year 1587, he was made *Master of the Horse*. In 1590, he was sent into France with an *English Army*, to assist Henry the IVth. In 1596, he was made *Earl Marshal of England*, and after that, *Master of the Ordnance* the same year. In the year 1597, he was *Admiral* of the second Squadron of that Fleet which was sent against *Cadiz*. In 1599, he was made *Lord Deputy of Ireland*, with more ample power than had been given to any of his Predecessors, and a good Army. This Expedition was the occasion of the Ruin of this Great Man; his Army being wasted, without any

considerable Advantage. *Cambden* attributes this to the Discontent of the *Earl of Essex*, Because Sir *Robert Cecil* was made *Master of the Wards*; which nettled him, who desired to engross all his Mistress's Favours, that he left *Ireland* without leave, and returned to *England*, where he perished in his Discontent and Folly, in the year 1600.

The Queen
very much
oppressed by
the Infamy
and Villanies
of *Leicester*.

The Queen was in her own Temper a Person of an extraordinary Piety and Goodness, and without any exception; yet her Virtue was scarce able to secure her from being made infamous and unhappy by the Wickedness of the *Earl of Leicester*; she in the beginning of her Reign relying too much upon his Counsel, and as it were committing herself and her Kingdoms to his Industry and Care, to the neglect of the rest of the Nobility, who hated this Minister; Whilst the rest of the Peers withdrew from Danger, or stood as it were at a gaze in a stupid amazement, or servilely and patiently complied with him: But *Thomas Ratcliff, Earl of Sussex*, and *Lord Chamberlain of the Household* to the Queen, and *President of the North*; a good-

agoodly Gentleman, of a Brave and Noble Nature; constant to his Friends and Servants, and the best Soldier the Queen then had, would not so tamely yield to *Leicester*; there being in his Nature as well as Morals, a perfect Antipathy to the other; so that the Court for a long time stood divided between them, and they kept Spies upon each other's actions: The *Queen* did what she could to reconcile them, but it was utterly impossible; they were equal in Power and Estate, but so differing from each other in their Designs and Interests, and so unwilling on both sides to yield, that nothing but Death could determine this mortal Feud between them. This Noble Martial Earl died in the year 1583. He would often remonstrate, That *Leicester's* Covetousness and his other Vices were intolerable; that he had more Authority with the *Queen*, than all the rest of the Nobility; that he disposed of all the Rewards of Virtue and Industry, and all the rest were forced to truckle under, and serve him; that his Pride, Laziness, Luxury, and dissolute Manners were not to be born; and there was hardly a good man in the Nation, who

The Character of *Thomas Ratcliff*, Earl of *Suffex*.

The Character of

who was not in his heart convinced of the truth of all this, and did not wish to see this ill man humbled. The truth is, *Suffex* was the honestest man, and the better Soldier; *Leicester* the more accomplished Courtier, and the deeper Politician, not for the general Good, but his own partitular Profit.

The Character of Sir William Cecil, afterward Lord Burleigh.

Sir *William Cecil* was a Person of great Learning, singular Judgment, and admirable Moderation and Prudence; unto which is justly attributed very much of the Prosperity which *England* for so many years enjoyed under this most auspicious Government. He was made Secretary of State the 5th. of *Edm.* the 6th. 1551. His opposition to the Exclusion of *Queen Mary*, preserved him in her fair Esteem, tho he was of a differing Religion. In the first of *Queen Elizabeth* he was again call'd to the Council-Table. In the 3d. year of her Reign he was made Master of the Wards; and in the 14th. Anno 1572. he was made Lord Treasurer of *England*, upon the Death of *William Lord Pawlet*, having the 25th. of February of the preceding year, obtained his Patent of *Baron Lord Burleigh*; so that

that he was the first Peer of this Illu-
 strious House, though his Father and
 Grandfather had enjoyed good Employ-
 ments under *Henry the 8th.* In all
 the Contests between *Suffex* and *Leice-*
ster, this Great Man stood Neuter, and
 would engage in neither of the Parties;
 which made him the Head of a Third,
 and enabled him to serve himself of
 both the other, in whose ways he laid
 many rubs. Others were raised to ba-
 lance Factions, he to support a King-
 dom; as he was the best Statesman in
 that Age, so he was constantly on the
 watch for the *Safety of his Mistress and*
her Kingdoms. *Leicester* was the Cun-
 ningest man of the Age, but *Cecil* the
 Wisest, the Stoutest; and being with-
 out Guile or Pride, made it his business
 to baffle all *Leicester's* Projects for the
 Marriage of the Queen, and the ensla-
 ving the Nation. He and *Suffex* threw
 themselves once at the Feet of the
 Queen, and presumed to tell her, That
 all her good Subjects were concern'd to
 see the Danger and Dishonour *Dudley*
 had brought upon her; That he had
 'transgressed all the bounds of a Sub-
 'ject, and very much exceeded the
 'Crimes of *Northumberland* his Father:
 'That

The Character of

'That he had bragg'd of Marrying
 'her: That this was a Dishonour to
 'her Majesty, and would bring Mis-
 'chief on her Kingdoms; for her Sub-
 'jects would never endure the Sove-
 'raignty of an unchaste and wicked
 'man. And they advised her to put a
 'stop to the Jealousies of her People,
 'and to consult her own Honour, and
 'the Safety of her Friends. They re-
 'presented to her very warmly, the
 'Dignity, Power, and Wealth of a Fo-
 'reign Match; and recommended to
 'her *Charles Arch-Duke of Austria*, se-
 'cond Son of *Ferdinand* the Emperor,
 'and Brother of *Maximilian II.* as a
 'Prince worthy of her Affections.
 These Discourses of these Great Men
 made a very deep Impression on the
 mind of the Queen; and thereupon
 this Noble Earl was sent in the year
 1567, to carry the *George* to *Maximili-
 an II.* Emperor of *Germany*; and had
 Commission at the same time to treat
 of this Marriage; which he endeavour-
 ed to effect with all his Power, though
 the Earl of *Leicester* opposed it. The
 Gallantry of his Behaviour, and the
 Splendor of his Equipage and Retinue,
 gain'd him a Familiarity from the Em-
 peror,

The Earl of
Suffex sent
 Ambassador
 to the Empe-
 ror.

peror, and a Reverence from the Arch-Duke, a Respect from the People, and his Mistress a kindness in that Court, which stood her in great stead against the Attempts of the King of *Spain*, and Pope of *Rome*; which perhaps was all that was designed by the Treaty; for it is said, the *Lord North*, who went with him, had Orders under hand to oppose all his Negotiations, as he did, and by a few fond Scruples disappointed and at last defeated the whole Design. It is supposed by some, this Obstruction was procured by *Leicester*, to secure his own Greatness. When this Great but Ill Man had struggled many years with the opposite Parties which arose one after another against him in the Court, and found himself sinking in the Favour of the Queen, by his private Marrying the Countess of *Essex* during the Life of his first Wife; fearing the Divine Justice, the Change of the Times, and the great Numbers of men he had exasperated against him, he in the year 1585, obtained a Commission of the Queen for Levying 500 men, to be sent into *Holland* and *Zealand*; and was after that, by another, constituted *Lieutenant* and *Captain-General* of the whole

The Ruin of
Leicester.

His Death and
Dishonour.

whole Army designed for the Service of the *United Provinces*, against the *Spaniards*, whither he went the same year; he had no good Success in this Expedition; and the next year the *Hollanders* made loud and dreadful Complaints against him, for mis-spending their Money, and ill-managing their Affairs; whereupon he was re-called; and the Complaint following him hither, he told the Queen, *That she having sent him thither with Honour, (he hoped) she would not receive him back with Disgrace; and that whom she had raised from the Dust, she would not bury alive.* Thereupon he left the Court, and the 4th. of September, 1588 he died at *Cornbury-Park* in *Oxfordshire*. Thus died this Favourite, having in one year in the Wars lost all that Reputation and Favour he had acquired in so many years in the Court.

The Character of the
Lord Willoughby.

Peregrine Lord Willoughby, a Noble Gentleman, a good Soldier, and a Virtuous Man, who was one of the Commanders under the Earl of *Leicester*, succeeded him as *General of the English Forces in the Netherlands*: He had more Experience, more Courage, and also more.

more Success than his Predecessor ; so that *he was stiled the Queen's first Sword-man, and a great Master of the Military Art*, by the Historians of those times : He did the States of *Holland* great Service, by his brave Defence of *Bergen ap Zoom*, against the Prince of *Parma*, in the year 1588 : But for all that, he had some of the Fate of his Predecessor, which fell to his lot, for he was complained of by the *Hollanders*, as well, tho not so justly as *Leicester* ; but his Innocence clear'd him. In the year 1589, he was sent *General* of 4000 men, in aid of the King of *Navarre*, into *France* ; and he died in the year 1601.

The Queen in all the time of her Reign, took care to Establish her Government by the Counsel, Virtue, and Fidelity of many Wise and Learned Men, who spent their whole time in promoting the Publick Welfare and Peace of her Kingdoms. Sir *Francis Walsingham*, Secretary of State, was one of the greatest of these, and an Ornament to her Court and Council. He so sedulously attended the execution of the Office committed to him, and took

The Character of Sir Francis Walsingham.

took his Measures for the Safety of her Person and Kingdoms, and the Security of the Protestant Religion, with that Prudence and Caution, that it was scarce possible any thing should happen, which his Care and Industry had not foreseen, or his Spies discovered to him before-hand. His Maxim was, *Knowledge is never too dear*; and accordingly he spent his whole Income and Time in her Service, and died in the year 1590, so poor, that the Queen gave his Daughter her Portion. The Queen has been heard to say, *That his Diligence and Sagacity exceeded her Expectation.*

Burleigh made
Lord Treasur-
er for his
Virtue.

The Lord *Burleigh* was made Lord *Treasurer* of *England* by her, because he was the *Cato* of his Time; a man well versed in the Affairs of the Treasury, and a Provident and Careful Manager of them: He would insinuate to the Queen, That the Treasury was not her own Money, but committed to her Care for the Safety of her People; and therefore it was not to be spent in useless ways, or in satisfying the Avarice and Knavery of her Ministers, but for the Benefit and Welfare of the State; and

and that the best thing which could possibly be done by any person, was to do that which tended to the good of his Countrey.

Mary the Daughter of *James V.* King of *Scotland*, was a young Lady of great Beauty; and by the Arts of her Mother, who was a *French* Lady, and descended of the House of *Lorain*, she was perswaded to marry *Francis* the Eldest Son of *Henry II.* then King of *France*, by which he obtained the Title of King of *Scotland* in her Right. After *Mary* Queen of *England* was dead, the House of *Guise* in *France* perswaded this Prince and his Lady to assume and use the Royal Arms of *England*, because she was of the Royal Family; and accordingly it was Engraven on all their Plate, and put upon all their other Furniture, and they used it in their Seals, to the great Injury and Exasperation of *Queen Elizabeth*: She suffered also herself to be stiled Queen of *England*, which highly incensed the *English* Nation against her and the *French* Court; it being thought the greatest Contempt that could possibly be offered to us, to assume that Title at a time

H

when

The Character and Story of *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*.

when *France* was engaged in a War with *Spain*: But however, the Civil War which soon after broke out in *France*, and lasted many years, the defeating their Designs in *Scotland*, the Deaths of *Henry II.* and *Francis II.* and all other the Calamities that followed this foolish Attempt, sufficiently revenged the Injury offered to the Queen and the *English* Nation.

The Character of Sir N. Throgmorton.

Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* was an Industrious, Wise, and an Active Statesman, but apt to be heat, and of a fiery Temper: He was at that time the *English* Leiger Ambassador in the Court of *France*, and was highly exasperated to see this Affront put upon his Mistress, and he made sharp and loud Complaints of it to the Council of *France*: After a tedious Debate, and many Hearings, he at last by the means of *Montmorancy*, Constable of *France*, obtained an Order or Promise, That the Queen of the Scots should no more use the Royal Arms of England, nor the Title of Queen of England or Ireland, during the Life of Queen Elizabeth, or of any Children born of her. The Envy and Hatred which was occasioned by this imprudent

dent Contest between these two great Ladies, who were equal in Authority and Beauty, had an ill effect upon them in all the after-parts of their Lives, and at last ended in the violent Death of *Mary Queen of the Scots.*

The *French* seemed then to desire nothing more than a pretence for a War with *England*: *Throgmorton* the Ambassador was made the subject of their Court-Jesters and Comedians Railery; one of his Servants was, contrary to the Laws of Nations, taken violently and unjustly from him, and sent to the Gallies by the Brother of the Duke of *Guise*; the *English* which Traded in *France*, were without any provocation or complaint made of them to their own Queen, most unjustly Imprison'd, and otherwise exposed to Contempt and Blows: The Ambassador bore all things with an invincible Resolution, and resolved, whatever he suffered, not to be frightened from his Post, but to watch the first opportunity to revenge the Contempt was offered to his Character, and their violations of the Laws of Nations: He complained openly and freely to the Council of *France*, of the

The French
desirous of a
War with
England.

Throgmorton
kindles the
Civil Wars
in France.

Affronts offered to his Mistress, of their Violence, Injuries, and Rapins committed upon her Subjects: And as for the Duke of *Guise*, he considered him only as a Subject of *France*, and said many things of him with the utmost Freedom and Sharpness; and the Duke of *Guise* answered him with some vehemence: The Council on the other hand laid all the blame on the common people of *France*, and offered a specious but untrue Excuse for what had been done. The Ambassador thereupon calling God and man to bear witness *how much they had violated the Law of Nations, and the Liberty of an Ambassador, which was Sacred by the Laws of God and man*, returned to his House; and from thenceforward made it his business to imbroil *France*; he exasperated by his Arts *Anthony King of Navarre*, the Prince of *Conde* his Brother, *Montmorancy*, and the rest of the Peers of that Kingdom, till he made all *France* the Scene of a Civil War, and filled it with inexpressible Calamities, which ended in the utter Ruin of the exorbitant Power and Greatness of the House of *Guise*. Tho this Great man did all this; yet upon his return into *England*

land he did not meet with a Recompence proportionable to his Integrity, Courage, and Industry; because the Lord *Burleigh* was his Enemy, and fought by all means to curb and conquer this lively, free, and haughty Spirit, which too often appeared against him.

The *French* having obtained a Matrimonial Right to the Crown of *Scotland*, thought it afforded them a fair pretence, and an happy introduction into the *Island*, and designed to employ these Advantages for the Conquest of *England* also. They thereupon taking hold of the Disorders their own Cruelty and Perfidy had caused in *Scotland*, raised a Potent Army under the Command of the *Count de Martignes*, and *Monsieur La Brosse*, two Expert Commanders, and sent them into *Scotland*: These *French* Gentlemen did all that was possible to Establish the Faction that favoured *France* in *Scotland*; they wasted and destroyed all that durst oppose them; and threatned the intire Destruction of all that any way opposed their designs: Their Violence and Cruelty in the mean time highly exasperated

The *French* design to improve their Interest in *Scotland*, to the Ruin of *England*.

The *Scotch* complain, and arm against them.

The *French* retire to *Leith*.

The *Scots* send into *England* for assistance.

perated the common people of that Kingdom, and they began to whisper, That the Destruction of all the Scotch Nobility, and the Extirpation of their Government, was intended: Thereupon the Scots began in good earnest to think how they might preserve themselves, and defend their Lands and Territories from the Incursions and Depredations of the French. The French, on the other side, meeting with Repulses, and seeing the whole Nation arm against them, when they expected the most profound Submission, retired to *Leith*, which they had then Fortified for their security, whither the Scotch Nobility followed them; and there were frequent but small Skirmishes between them and the French: But however, still the storm fell heaviest on that part of the Scots, which had embraced the Reformation, (for that was made the pretence for sending over these French Forces); and they on the contrary saw, that during the Marriage of their Queen with *Francis II.* King of *France*, there was no hopes of Security against the Pride and Cruelty of their new Masters, and that they were not able to defend themselves, without Assistance from

from abroad. Whereupon they sent their Agents with Letters to *Queen Elizabeth*, laying before her Majesty the miserable Estate they were reduced to, and imploring her Protection and Assistance for the prevention of their Ruin. The Queen being before exasperated by the ill usages she had received from the *Guises*, and compassionating the Dangers of *Scotland*; foreseeing also at the same time the great and almost unavoidable danger which was approaching her own Kingdom, if the French were suffered by force or fraud to subdue that part of the Scots which were of the Protestant Religion; she courageously and prudently resolved to undertake the Defence and Protection of this Nation; and broke with the *French*, whose Friendship is at all times doubtful and uncertain: Thereupon she sent Mr. *William Winter*, the Master of her Naval Cannon, with a Fleet into the *Frych* of *Edinburgh*, in the year 1560; which took the Island of *Koth* from the *French*, and expelled their Garison, and relieved the Scots that were then in Arms. She made also the Duke of *Norfolk*, a Peer of good Experience in Warlike Affairs, President of the North. At the

A Fleet sent
into Scotland.

And an Army, which
belieged *Leith*.

the same time she sent the Lord *Grey* of *WILTON*, who had been very unsuccessful in the Defence of *GUINES*, a Fortrefs belonging to *Calais*, in her Sister's Reign, with an Army by Land into *Scotland*. He entred *Scotland* with this Army, which consisted in Six Thousand Foot, and Two Thousand Horse, in a peaceable and civil manner treating the Countries through which he passed, as a Friend and an Ally that came to help them; and sat down before *Leith*, a Sea-Port which was then Garison'd by the *French*. *Martignes*, who was a young and a fiery Gentleman, being spurr'd on by the overwarm desires of Glory, would needs undertake with Twelve Companies of Foot, to beat the *English* Army, upon their first approach, from the Hills on which they were posted, tho the *French* were to charge up the Hill; whereupon there was presently a sharp and bloody Fight for that Ground; the *French* for a great while sustained with much Bravery the Charge of the *English* Army on their Front; but the *Scotch* Horse Wheeling about, and Charging them on the flank too, they were at last beaten with great Loss from their ground,

ground, and forced into the Town of *Leith*; and very few of them had escaped, if the *English* Horse had done their part, as well as the *Scotch* did theirs. The *French* however, were not quiet, tho thus beaten, but making a Sally after this, the 15th. of *April*, they surprized the Advanced Guards, and cut them off, broke into the Lines, and Nailed up Three of the *English* Cannons, and took *Maurice Berkley*, one of the Commanders, Prisoner: But *Robert Crofts*, and *Cuthbert Vaghan*, two other *English* Officers, fell on the *French* who pursued their point too far, and forced them back into the Town. In this Sally, *Arthur* the Eldest Son of the Lord *Grey*, who then commanded in the Trenches, was wounded in the Shoulder by a Musket-Bullet, whilst he valiantly opposed the *French*. This Sally exasperated the *English*, and they observing that their Batteries had not any considerable effect on the Walls, by reason of their distance, they came nearer to the Town, and erected new Batteries. There was nothing wanting in the Town which was needful to enable the Garrison to make a stout Defence; the Walls and Bastions were full of men
ex-

excellently Armed, and they played furiously on the *English*, wounding some, and killing others, and both by day and by night making furious sallies besides; which the *English* bore with so much Patience and Bravery, that they surmounted all these difficulties. The last day of *April* a Fire happened in the Town, which burned all that night; and the *English* by turning their Cannon upon those parts that were burning, terrified the Inhabitants, and spread the Fire; and the same night they passed the Dike, and measured the height of the Walls: The *French* within the Town, were no less industrious than the *English* were without, and at last they had the good fortune to put out the Fire, and to prevent the *English* from turning the Terror of it to the best advantage: After this the *English* burnt the Water-Mills upon the River *Leith*, which here falls into the *Frych* of *Edinburgh*, and gives name to the Town; and what they could not burn, they demolished: The 5th. of *May* the *English* storm'd the Town, with the Assistance of the *Scots*, under the Command of one *Vinocr*; the *French*, tho' much terrified with the bold approaches of the *English*,

English, yet manfully defended the Walls; and the Ladders proving too short, and the Waters being restrained by the Garison, were also found deeper than was expected, to their great damage; so that 160 of the *English* were slain, and nothing gained. The whole blame of this Misfortune was cast upon *Crofts*, who stood stone still in the place he was appointed to act in, and neither diverted the Enemy, or sent any Assistance to them that were engaged; and thereupon he was accused to the Queen by the *Duke of Norfolk*, and the *Lord Grey*, for which he afterwards being called before the Council, was deprived of the Government of *Berwick*. The *Duke of Norfolk* in the meantime took care to revive the drooping Spirits of the *English*, by a fresh Supply of 2000 men, which he soon after sent to reinforce the Camp, and to curb the Insolence of the *French*, which rose higher upon this Misfortune of the *Besiegers*, so that they made more frequent Sallies after it than they had done before. At the same time the *Duke* sent a Letter to the *Lord Grey*, to comfort the Army for the late Misfortune, and to assure him, that within a short
time

time he would follow with all the Forces he had under his Command. This Recruit blew off the Memory of their Loss, and kindled in the minds of the Besiegers a strong desire to revenge the Baffle they had received, and recover their former Reputation: By this time the Besieged had tried all the ways their prudence could suggest, to raise the Siege without any success, and were now as much oppressed by *Famine* within, as by the Enemy without; and having no hopes of any Relief, they at last began, with the consent of the *French King*, to Capitulate with the Queen, (for he scorned to Treat with the *Scots* who were his Subjects); who to that end sent Sir *William Cecil*, and Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, to *Edinburgh*. The Lord *James*, a *Scotch* Peer, proposed some things on the behalf of the *Scots* in this Treaty, which Sir *William Cecil* told him, *did not become Subjects to ask, or Princes to grant*: And the *French* on the other side offered the Queen, that if she would withdraw her Forces out of *Scotland*, he would restore *Calais* to the *English*; to which she generously replied, *She did not value that Fisher-Town so much, as to hazard for it the State of Britain*;

Britain; so even did she hold the Balance between that King and his Subjects, suffering neither of them to wrong the other: At last it was agreed, That the *French* should within Twenty days depart out of *Scotland*, and the Fortifications of *Leith* and *Dunbar* should be slighted: The 16th. of *July* the *French* accordingly embarked on the *English* Fleet for *France*; and the same day the Lord *Grey* began his March with the *English* Army for *England*, where he was rewarded for this Service with the Government of *Berwick*, which he did not long enjoy, for he died the 14th of *December*, 1562. This War, saith Mr. *Cambden*, preserved all *Britain* from Ruin, restored the *Scots* to their Ancient Liberty, and settled the Peace, and enlarged the Reputation of the *English* Nation; so that from thenceforward during all her happy Reign, she had no reason to apprehend any danger from *Scotland*, the Protestants of that Nation esteeming the Queen their Patroness and Deliverer; and the *English* acknowledging she had laid a sure foundation for their future Security. Thus she delivered *Scotland* from those Foreigners who designed by Violence and Force

Leith dismantled.

Printed by
W. B. in
1562

Force to suppress not only the Protestant Religion, but their Civil Rights and Liberties also, and to bring upon that Free Nation an intolerable *French* Slavery. Of this the Scots were then so extremely sensible, (saith my Author, who was of that Nation) *That they being delivered by her means from Foreign Servitude, they thereupon subscribed to a League to maintain the Protestant Religion, and to use the English Worship and Rites.*

The first Civil War in France.

After this a Civil War arose in France, and the Queen sent Supplies under the Earl of *Warwick*, in 1562. to the Prince of *Conde*, the Count de *Rohan* and *Coligny*, the Defenders of the Protestant Religion, and of the Liberties of that Kingdom; To these Forces, when the Protestants themselves opposed them, she sent afterwards Additional Forces and great Sums of Money: At this time the French Protestants put *Havre de Grace* into her hands as a Cautionary Town, and it was Garrison'd with *English* Soldiers; but so soon as their Fear of the Popish Party was a little abated by a Peace granted to them, which yet was of

of no duration, they joined with their Popish Countrey-men to drive out their Benefactors, and with equal Violence endeavoured to reduce the Town under the Crown of *France* again: The Earl of *Warwick* seeing his men confounded by a *War* without, and a *Plague* within the Town, and no Relief to be expected in due time, he thereupon began a Treaty with the Enemy, and the 28th. of *July*, 1563. the Articles of Surrender were signed; the next day there came a Fleet of 60 Sail of *English* Ships into the Haven, on which the Garison was Transported into *England*: And the Protestants of *France* had the chief hand in the driving them out, as all sides acknowledge.

The Death of *Francis II.* King of *France*, the 5th. of *December*, 1560. when he had Reigned but Seventeen Months, put an end to all the *French* Ambitious Designs of Conquering *England*, and Reducing *Scotland*, and to the Fears of both these Kingdoms on that score. *Mary* Queen of *Scotland* being thus deprived of her Beloved Husband, soon grew weary of that Kingdom, and getting a small Number of

The Death of
Francis II
King of *France*.

of Ships together for that purpose, she went on board at *Calais*, the 14th of *August*, and she landed at *Leith* the 20th. of the same month in the year 1561, being attended by many of the Nobility, and some great Ladies of both the *French* and *Scots* Nation. Not long after the Queen of *England* having opposed this Princess's designs of Marrying *Charles Archduke of Austria*, and rather recommending to her choice the Lord *James Darnley*, Eldest Son to the Earl of *Lenox*, and the next Heir after her of the Crowns of *England* and *Scotland*; so that this Match would undoubtedly secure her Title to *England* too, after the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*; whereupon she married him at *Edinburgh*, in the year 1565; and the next year after, *James* their only Son was born, to the great Joy of both the Nations; for he was then thought one of the Pillars of *Christendom*, the Ornament of his Native Countrey and Family; and all men presaged, That he would one day become the King of *Great Britain*, as it came afterwards to pass, by the wonderful good Providence of God.

Mary Queen
of the Scots
Marrieth.

James I born.

This

This Marriage was attended with a Catastrophe and Tragick Event, which is grievous to the thoughts, and scarce possible to be enough lamented; *Mary Stewart, the Relict of Francis II. King of France, and the Immediate Heiress, and Lawful Queen of Scotland, and the Presumptive Heir of the Kingdoms of England and Ireland, the Mother of James VI.* soon after became a Lamentable Example of the Unsteadiness of Human Affairs. The Lord Darnley her Husband, having out of Jealousie ordered the Murther of one *David Rixio*, the Queen's Secretary, was afterwards himself Poisoned first, and then Murdered at *Edinburgh*, in the year 1567: The effect of which was, the Deposing the Queen her self, (who was suspected to have an hand in it), and the Imprisoning her in a Castle in the Lake of *Locklevin*, where she was forced to subscribe a *Resignation of the Crown and Government of Scotland*, in the year 1568. The Queen by the Providence of God escaped afterwards out of this Restraint the 2d. of *May*, and raised some Forces to recover her Crown again, which were intirely routed and dispersed by the Forces of the

I Regent

Her Imprisonment at
Carlisle.

Regent of *Scotland*: So that having nothing more to trust to in that Kingdom, she took shipping with intention to pass into *France*; but being by stress of Weather, or the Treachery of those that carried her, brought into *England*, she was landed at *Warkinton* in *Cumberland* the 17th. of the same Month, and not long after committed Prisoner to the Castle of *Carlisle*; so that being driven from her Native Countrey by her own Subjects, she found an uneasy and cruel Restraint, where she expected a Refuge and a Sanctuary: The Laws of Hospitality, and that Kindness which Nature teacheth all men to use towards those that are of the same Lineage and Blood, not being able to protect her against the Jealousie of a Rival Queen. When *Mary* Queen of the *Scots* saw her self reduced to this Calamitous Condition, forsaken of all her Subjects and Servants, and forced to flee in one day about Sixty Miles, and then not thinking her self secure till passing to Sea, she was thrown upon the *English* shore; She wrote a Letter to the Queen of *England*, before she left *Scotland*, and sent it by one *Beton*, and she gave him a Diamond which the Queen had sent her

her before this as a Pledge of her Friendship; she also ordered him to tell the Queen, That she intended to leave *Scotland*, and to come into *England*; and did most earnestly beseech her to send her such Help and Assistance as was necessary, in case the *Scots* should persist in the same Methods of Oppression. Queen *Elizabeth* assured this Gentleman, That she would shew the Queen of *Scots* all that Affection that she could possibly expect from a Sister. Before this Gentleman could get back again, she left *Scotland*, contrary to the Advice of all her Friends, and came into *England*, and as soon as she was on shore she sent the Queen a Second Letter in *French*, in the Conclusion of which she tells the Queen of *England*, That she was come into her Kingdom with an intire Reliance upon her Majesties most unquestionable good affections towards her, not doubting but her Majesty would assist her, and that by her Example and Encouragement others would be won over to her. I do most earnestly therefore (said she) beseech you, That I may presently be admitted to come to you, because I am now in great Distress, as I will more at large inform you, when you shall please so far to

The Queen
of Scots Letter
to Q. Elizabeth
upon her first
Landing in
England.

I 2

have

have Compassion on me. God grant your Majesty a long and an happy Life, and me that Patience and Consolation which I hope to obtain from him by your seasonable Assistance. Queen Elizabeth sent Sir Francis Knolles and some others to the Queen of the Scots, to comfort her, and promised her all that Protection and Assistance which the Equity of her Cause would allow, but she would not suffer her to come to her. And she ordered her to be removed to Carlisle, which was a place of greater Safety to her, than that she was at present in, where the Scots might perhaps surprize her: Upon this the Queen of the Scots wrote a Third Letter to the Queen, and sent it by the Lord Herris, desiring that she might be suffered to come before her Majesty, to propose the Injuries which had been done to her by her Subjects, and to answer the accusations they did pretend to bring against her. That it was most equitable and just, that Queen Elizabeth should admit her who was her Nearest Kinswoman, and was now an Exile, into her presence, and hear what she had to say for her self, and restore her to her Kingdom, which she had most unjustly been deprived of, by those who had been most justly

ba-

The Third
Letter.

banished for their Treasons, against her, and were Pardoned and Restored upon your Majesty's Intercession with me, to my own Ruin, as now it plainly appeareth, (said she) if your Majesty d th not prevent it. Wherefore I once more Conjure your Majesty either to Admit me into your Presence, and to Assist me, or otherwise to suffer me forthwith to go out of England to seek help elsewhere, and that you would not detain me as a Captive and a Prisoner any longer in the Castle of Carlisle, because I came freely into England, trusting in your many kind Letters, Messages, and the Pledges of an Honourable Reception. This Letter wrought very much upon the heart of the Queen, and she could not but pity the desolate and deplorable Estate of so near a Relation, who being by Force of Arms taken by her own Subjects, had been thrust from a Throne into a Prison, brought into the utmost danger of her Life, Condemned without being heard, and was deprived of a Kingdom, and had now fled to her out of a Confidence of her Assistance, and was now at last willing and desirous that the Queen of England should be her Judge, and when she had heard both her and her Subjects, pronounce

what Sentence she thought fit and just.

The deplorable state of the Princes of the earth.

The Difficulties attending the keeping or dismissing the Queen of the Scots.

Princes are certainly the most unhappy part of Mankind, because they are frequently reduced to those straits, that they can scarce tell which way to turn them; Sin or Misery, Ruin or Dishonour, surround and encompass them, so that there is no possibility of avoiding both at once. Had Queen *Elizabeth* dismissed the Queen of *Scots*, she would without doubt have found enough who would have entertained her as an Instrument and Pretence to ruin both *England* and *Scotland* too. If she detained her in *England*, it was feared that her Wheedling Humour, Youth, and Beauty, and her stout Attachment to the Popish Religion, would draw in many of the *English* to take her part, as long as she was considered as the next Heir of the Crown, after the Queen then Reigning; and this would very much endanger the Peace of *England*: Foreign Ambassadors would have Orders from their Masters, (when her Case was once known) to espouse her Interest, and promote her Affairs; and a part of the *Scots* would certainly endeavour

deavour to restore her, and suppress the Opposite Party, when they had so fair a Prospect of making their own Fortunes into the bargain. The Faith of those that were trusted with the keeping this Precious *Depositum*, was not to be relied on, and if she should happen to dye by a Natural Death, the *Queen* must expect to be defamed and slandered as the Murderer of her. So that the *Queen* saw that every day new and unforeseen Difficulties grew upon her. If she were suffered to go into *France*, it was feared the House of *Guise* which was related to her by her Mother, might renew their old Pretences in her Right to *England*, and again set on foot her former Claim of this Throne, and might win many over to assist her, either on the score of her Religion, or the Probability of her Right, or lastly, merely out of a mad desire of changing the present Government, which is never so easie or sweet as to please all. That the parting with her would put an end to the League and Friendship between *England* and *Scotland*, which was then considered as a thing of the greatest use that could possibly be conceived to *England*; and it was to be feared if by her means

The Character of

the Popish part of *Scotland* prevailed against the Protestant, the League with *France* would be renewed; and this would be so much the more mischievous to *England* now, because heretofore we had the Friendship of the House of *Burgundy*, to balance that of *Scotland*; but the Estates of that Family being all at this time united in the Person of *Philip II.* King of *Spain*, *England* had not one Ally near it which could be relied on, but the *Scots*: If she were resettled in *Scotland*, it was to be feared that those of the *English* Faction would be ruined, and those of the *French* would be alone intrusted with all the Power: The young Prince would be exposed to Dangers; the Religion which was now well Established there, would be changed; the *French* and other Foreigners would be invited thither and entertained; and *Ireland* would be more infested by the *Highland-Scots*, than heretofore, and Queen *Mary* her self would be in danger of losing her Life amongst her own Subjects. Hereupon the far greatest part of the Council of *England* were of an Opinion, That she ought to be detained here as a Prisoner of War, till she had given sufficient satisfaction for her assuming

A Resolution
taken to detain
her as a
Prisoner of
War.

suming the Title of the Crown of England; and answered for the Death of the Lord Darnly, who was a Subject of England. For this, the Countess of Lenox had furnished them with a Pretence, by her coming to the Queen, and with Tears in her eyes demanding Justice in her own and her Husbands name; and had also besought the Queen, That Mary Queen of the Scots might be Arraigned for the Death of her Son. To whom the Queen had calmly and wisely answered, That the Countess ought not to bring so grievous an Accusation, or charge so black a Crime as this was, upon a Princess so nearly related to the Crown; which yet could not be proved by certain Evidence. That the times were unjust and wicked, and Malice was blinded with Prejudice, and made no scruple to charge the most Innocent with horrid Crimes: That, however, there was an All-seeing Justice, which attended at the Throne of God, which was the best Avenger of all secret Villanies.

It will appear by all this what Difficulties there were on all hands in this great Affair; and that the Queen was not acted only by a spirit of Jealousie and

The Queen of England not acted by a spirit of Jealousie and Revenge.

and Revenge for what was past, or out of a Personal and Selfish Humour oppressed this Banished Queen, without considering all things with great application of mind. The Lord *Herris*, who attended the Court for the Queen of *Scots*, was not idle in the mean time, but earnestly solicited Queen *Elizabeth*, That she would not rashly believe any Accusation which should be brought against a Sovereign Queen, till she had been heard: and that the Meeting of the States of Scotland should not be precipitated by the Earl of Murray, the Prime Regent, to the Prejudice of the Deposed Queen, and the Ruin of all her Loyal and Good Subjects. The Queen of England accordingly did interpose her Authority with Murray, as to the latter of these; but the Regent went on for all that, Assembled the States of Scotland, and attainted several of those that had taken Arms for the Queen, and seized their Estates and Houses: The Queen of England being highly incensed upon this, sent Sir *Walter Mildmay* to the Regent, to tell him from her, 'That she could not sit still and see the Sacred Power of Princes be brought into Contempt amongst their Subjects, and be trodden
' un-

Mildmay sent
into Scotland
to threaten
the Regent.

' under foot at the Will and Pleasure of
 ' Factious men. That altho they had
 ' forgot all that Duty and Respect
 ' which they owed to their Queen; yet
 ' she for her part could not forget the
 ' Affection and Compassion her Piety
 ' obliged her to shew to a Sister and a
 ' Neighbour Queen: That therefore
 ' *Murray* should either come to her him-
 ' self, or send some able men who might
 ' answer the Complaints of the Queen
 ' of *Scots* against the Regent and his
 ' Partakers; and shew the Causes for
 ' which they had *Abdicated* (Deposed)
 ' the *Queen*; which if they did not
 ' forthwith do, she would dismiss the
 ' Queen of *Scots*, and lend her all her
 ' Forces, in order to the resettling her
 ' in her Kingdom. And at the same
 ' time she admonished them not to sell
 ' the Queen's Jewels and Wardrobe,
 ' tho the States had given him leave to
 ' do it.

The Earl of *Murray* accordingly, and some other of the Nobility came into *England*, and the case of the Queen of *Scots* was heard at *York* by several of the Lords of the *English* Council, but could be brought to no Issue by reason

Murray upon Q. Elizabeth's threats comes into England.

son of the cross Interests, and the mutual Fears on all sides: Tho the Queen of *England* to the last declared, That *she detested the Insolence of the Scots in her soul, who had presumed to Abdicate their Queen.* But then, when the Duke of *Norfolk* thought it reasonable that *Murray* should be stayed in *England*, and be prosecuted for the Death of the Lord *Darnley*, which the Queen of *Scots* said she would prove against him; 'tho 'this was approved by the Earls of *Arundel, Suffex, Leicester, and Clinton,* 'afterwards Earl of *Lincol'n*, yet the 'Queen was very angry at the Motion, 'and openly said, *The Queen of Scots* 'would never want an Advocate as long 'as the Duke of *Norfolk* lived. So that upon the whole, it is strongly probable she durst not dismiss or restore the Queen of *Scots*, for fear it should involve both *England* and *Scotland* in Wars and Calamities which would have very much endangered the utter Ruin of both the Nations; but then she was desirous as much as was possible, to keep the Example from spreading, to the Damage of other Princes, and the Endangering other States in other Circumstances, as much as it tended now to their

Q *Elizabeth*
durst not re-
store the Qu.
of the *Scots*
to her
Throne.

their Preservation. Many have endeavoured to blacken this Act of the Queen's, and others to defend and excuse it; but for my part, I think the Character God gave of King David, may be applied to Queen Elizabeth here; *David did that which was right in the eyes of the Lord, and turned not aside from any thing that he commanded him, all the days of his life; save only in the matter of Uriah the Hittite.* And what if upon the whole, the Queen of the Scots is to be excepted only in our Instance?

This Reflection will appear so much the more reasonable, if we take into Consideration her Death too. The Queen of Scots had been now a Prisoner in England almost XVIII. Years, when the Queen of England was prevailed upon by the earnest Solicitation of many of the Peers and Commons of England, who fell down upon their Knees, humbly requesting her Majesty (as Melvil expresth it) to have Compassion upon their unsure Estate, albeit she should slight her own: Alledging, That her Life was in hazard by the Practices of the Queen of Scotland, and their Lives and Fortunes also. Now as it was possible

The Queen prevailed upon to put the Queen of Scots upon her Trial.

sible for the *English* to have kept all those ill men from her, which might put the Queen of *Scotland* upon such Practices, so it was utterly unreasonable that Queen *Elizabeth* should expect the Queen of *Scots* would desist from endeavouring by all the ways that were possible, to recover her Liberty and her Kingdom, tho with the Death of her Oppressor. But by this time the King of *Scotland* her Son was become a man, and he would have secured the Peace and Possession of that Kingdom; and the Queen of *Scots* was now XLIV. Years of Age, and so not so likely if she had escaped, to have been Courted, or to have wrought her any great Mischief in the world, as she might have done in her Younger years; besides, by this time the States of *Holland* had pretty well establisht themselves to balance the *Spaniards*; but then the House of *Guise* was then in its greatest Pride, and the King of *Spain* was preparing his *Invincible Armado*, which came two years after; and these two may seem to have been the real Motives to it: But whatever they were, the thing cannot be justified, neither ought it; and Queen *Elizabeth* seems to own as much, by her
ruining

ruining *Davison* the *Secretary*, to conceal her own fault, tho in truth it made it much worse.

When the Queen of Scots was brought before the Lords that were to Try her for her Life, she declined their Jurisdiction (as well she might) and alledged she was a Sovereign Queen; to which the *Chancellor*, the Lord *Hat-*
ton replied, *You are accused, but not con-*
demned: You say you are a Queen, be it so;
if you are innocent, you wrong your Repu-
tation in avoiding Tryal: You protest your
self Innocent; the Queen feareth the con-
trary, not without grief and shame: To
examine your Innocence are these Honou-
rable, Prudent, and upright Commis-
sioners sent: Glad will they be with all
their hearts, if they may return and re-
port you guiltless; believe me, the Queen
her self will be much affected with Joy, who
affirmed to me at my coming from her,
That never any thing befel her more
grievous to her, than that you were
Charged with such a Crime: Where-
fore lay aside the bootless Privilege of a
Royal Dignity, which here can be of no
use to you; appear in Judgment, and shew
your Innocence; lest by avoiding Tryal
you

The Trial of
the Q. of the
Scots.

Hatton's
wheedling
Speech.

you draw upon your self suspicion, and lay upon your Reputation an Eternal Blot and Asperision.

The Speech
censured.

This short Speech is highly commended for the Ingenuity and Softness of it; but it was a detestable piece of Wickedness to wheedle a poor Captive Queen, who was ignorant of the Laws of Nations, and destitute of all Advice and Counsel, out of her Reputation, Majesty, Innocence, and Life; and under the false Pretences of the Queen's Tenderneſs for her, her Judges Uprightneſs, and her own alledg'd Innocence, to bring her by a Pretended Shew of Justice, to a Scaffold as a Subject, who was an Equal, an Enemy, and a Sovereign. The Queen of *Scots* Innocence did not conſiſt in her having never contrived any thing againſt Queen *Elizabeth*, but in her Right to contrive all that was poſſible, to recover her Liberty and her Kingdom; and therefore when they had proved her in their Notion Guilty, they had done nothing; ſhe was no Subject to Queen *Elizabeth*, and ſo ought her no Allegiance, and conſequently could commit no Treason againſt her; and the Queen of *England* ought

ought to have set her at Liberty, and commanded her out of her Kingdom, before she could justly treat her as an Enemy. So that this was all of it Pretence, Injustice, and Oppression; and had *Nathan* the Prophet been sent to the Queen of *England*, he would certainly have told her as he did *David*, *Thou hast slain her with the sword of the children of Ammon*. And the Complaint that she made to the Lord *Hatton*, and all that she did after to excuse herself, shew that she had a reluctance within, and acted against the Dictates of her own Conscience; so that this can be no Example, for the future, to any Prince or Subject, but ought to be looked upon as the Dishonour and Shame of that otherwise most Excellent Princess.

Yet after all, the Queen is not to be charged with the whole Guilt of this Royal and Innocent Blood; but those Foreign Princes, and the Priests and Jesuits are justly chargable with the greatest part of the blame, because when they saw the *Queen of Scots* in so much danger of her Life, they would never suffer her to be quiet, but were eternal-

Foreign Prin-
ces, and the
Popish Priests
guilty of the
Murder of
the Q. of the
Scots.

K

ly

ly Plotting and Contriving, Bribing and Conspiring, how to murder *Queen Elizabeth*, and to set up the *Queen of Scots* in her stead, to restore their Beloved Popery here in *England*: To demonstrate the Truth of this Assertion, I must in the next place give an account of the Troubles and Conspiracies of the Popish Party against this Princess, which to the shame of their Religion were all began and carried on under the pretence of a mighty Zeal for their Faith, and in Obedience to its Principles. *Pope Pius Quintus*, in the year 1570, thought it became his *Piety*, and would be an excellent Argument of his deserving that name, to Arm all the *Queen's* Subjects against God, and their Prince and Countrey, and foolishly presumed the Avenger of Perjury would permit him to free them from the obligations of their Natural and sworn Allegiance to their Lawful Sovereign and his Vicegerent: Thereupon he sent out his *B U L L*, to declare the *Queen* an Heretick, and that she had forfeited all her Right to Reign and Govern: And he excited all the Neighbour Catholick Princes to take Arms against her, and put this Bull in Execution. And one *Dr. Morton*, the

Pius V Excommunicates the *Queen* and absolves all her Subjects.

the *Pope's Legate à Latere* here, then lay lurking amongst the Papists in the *North of England*, and with impatience expected the Roaring of this *Bull*, as the Signal to Treason and Rebellion; and in the mean time made it his business to excite their Madness and Rage, and inflame their Hatred by vain hopes and promises, that so he might engage them in a miserable destructive War.

The Popish Subjects of *England*, being thus debauched from their Allegiance, by the *Pope's Authority and Approbation*, there presently followed a great many Seditions and Insurrections, and some of the Nobility and Gentry of that Persuasion, in compliance with their Religion, began to be very ill affected towards their Prince. Thus Religion became a Pretence for, and a Promoter of Rebellion and Treason. The first of the Nobility that entred into Action against the Queen, was *Thomas Piercy, Earl of Northumberland*, who in the year 1569, had been privy to the Intended Marriage of *Mary Queen of the Scots*, with *Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk*; and being discovered thereupon, he submitted himself to the Earl of *Suffex*, at that time President of the *North*; yet

Thereupon followed Rebellions and Insurrections in *England*.

The E. of *Northumberland* leads the way.

And is followed by the
E. of West-
morland.

after this he joined with *Charles Nevil, Earl of Westmorland*, and great Multitudes of people began to resort to them, and they began to be suspected again by the Government as designing some Mischief. The *President of the North* sent for them both at one time, and freely told them what he had heard, and they both stoutly disclaimed the having a Conspiracy in hand against the Queen, and promised to adventure their Lives very zealously against any Traytor whatsoever, that should take Arms against their Sovereign: Yet after all, *Piercy* began to raise what Forces he could in the year 1569, which being discovered to the Queen, she sent her Letters to them, requiring them to come both to Court. The Earl of *Northumberland* was so easie a man, and so far from that fiery Activity that is requisite in the Head of a Faction, that upon the receipt and reading of the Queen's Letter, he was almost resolved to go to Court, and cast himself at the Queen's Feet, as in all probability he had done, if his Servants and Followers who were more bent upon Mischief than he, had not allarm'd him in the dead of the night, and frighted him into a Rebellion

on by their crafty arts; persuading him at the same time, *That all the Catholicks in England were ready prepared to assert that Religion; and that if they neglected it any longer, Foreign Princes would take this work in hand, to the great Damage of the Nation:* Whereupon he fled to *Branspeth* in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, to the Earl of *Westmorland*, and they joining in a Rebellion, summoned their Confederates, and issued out a *Proclamation in the Queen's Name, commanding the people to put themselves in Arms for the Defence of her Majesty's Person.*

In their *Banner* was a Cross Painted, with the Five Wounds of Christ; yet after all, they never could assemble more than 2000 Horse, and 5000 Foot; so that tho they designed to have marched to *York*, they durst not do it; and upon the first News that the Earl of *Sussex* was advancing towards them, they disbanded these Tumultuous Forces before he came up to them, and both the Earls fled into *Scotland*. The Earl of *Northumberland* was not long there before he was discovered by the *Regent* of *Scotland*, and was sent a Prisoner to the Castle of *Lo-klevin*, and in 1572, delivered into the Queen's hands; and

Northumberland taken in Scotland.

Westmerland
fled into *Flanders*.

the 22^d of *August* in that year, he was Beheaded at *Tork*. The *Earl of Westmorland* fled into *Flanders*, and was received into the Protection of the *Spaniards*, where he lived to a great Old Age, and died in the year 1584, having lived all that while he was there in great Penury and Want. This was the last Earl of that Noble Family, which had enjoyed that Earldom Six Descents, from the year 1398, and was now wholly extinct, he being Attainted in Parliament, and leaving none but Daughters behind him. As their Forces were small, they did but very little mischief to any besides themselves: First they marched to *Durham*, which they entred without Resistance, in a kind of silly Triumph, and entring the Churches, they cast to the ground the Bibles, and trod upon them, because they were *English*; and then they plundered all the Church-Treasures, threatening great Calamities to all those they called Hereticks: Then they went *Northward*, and Besieged *Bernard-Castle*, which Sir *George Bowes* defended against them Eleven days, and by that time they had taken it, *Sussex* was upon them, and they were forced to disband and fly for it;

it ; so little did the Popish Religion gain by this Abortive Insurrection.

When the Queen heard of this sudden Insurrection, she forthwith by the Advice of her Privy Council, issued out a sharp Proclamation against the two Earls and all the rest of the Commanders and Abettors of this Rebellion ; and exhorted all her Subjects to join heartily with her to revenge the Injury which was hereby offered both to her and them. The Popish Religion, which in the beginning of her Reign was not able to preserve it self, tho' Established by Law when she came to the Crown, in the Thirteen years which she had now Reigned, was become so much less in Numbers than it was at her coming to the Crown, and her Throne was now so well established, that many of the *Roman-Catholicks* which were desirous enough of Innovation, durst not be too forward to appear, for fear the Event should prove ruinous to them : So that many of them sent the Earls Letters to them, to the Queen, and promised to assist her towards the suppressing this Rebellion. And the two Earls being by their Servants and a com-

The Causes
of the Mis-
carriage of
this Insurre-
ction.

pany of hot-headed Priests, trick'd into a Rebellion, had made so little Preparations, that they seemed only to rise that they might fall the lower, and rise no more. But that which hastned the Reduction of them mostly, was the Reputation and Valour of *Thomas Ratcliff, Earl of Sussex*, then President of the North: He was a Gentleman of great Industry and Experience, and having now the supreme Command in the North, he would not give them time to fill up their Numbers, but getting what Forces he could on a sudden together, he marched against them with an Army of 7000 men; and by his bold and quick approach struck Terror into the Rebels, and extinguished this dangerous Fire in its beginning. The two Earls were by this time sensible that a great part of the Popish Faction would not Rise, and that they had neither Numbers, nor Officers, nor Ammunition, nor Money to carry on a War; and besides, they heard that the Earl of *Warwick* and *Clinton* were Raising Forces in the South, and had got together 12000 men, and were marching towards them: So that if they had beaten *Sussex*, they had been sure of another

ther Army in a few days, that would have ruined the Remains of their small Forces. So that they had no other course to take, than to disband their men, and skulk away as well as they could

Whilst the *Earl of Northumberland* continued at Liberty in *Scotland*, he was forced to lurk in a small Cottage destitute of Meat and Drink and all other Necessaries of human life, suitable to a Person of his Birth and Quality, as living amongst the bordering Thieves; and it was not long before they grew weary of him, and discovered him to the Regent of *Scotland*: *Morton*, the next Regent of *Scotland*, sold him after this, tho he had formerly been very kindly entertained by this Earl, when he was forced to flee out of *Scotland*: So that as he had broke his Faith to his Mistress, *he found no Faith, nor Pity, or Gratitude, amongst others*, but was pursued to the Block by a Divine Vengeance, which turned every thing against him. But it was, however, the happiness of this Family, that by his Attainder the Estate descended with the Title to Sir *Henry Percy*, his younger

The Calamities of the Earl of Northumberland.

younger Brother, upon whom it was by Name entailed by Queen *Mary*, when she re-granted this Earldom to this *Thomas*, in 1556; whereas the Family of the *Nevils* was intirely ruined, and never got up again.

The Earl of *Sussex* prosecutes the Rebels with great Severity.

The Earl of *Sussex* prosecuted the Rebels with great Severity, tho he had obtained so easie a Victory, and without any Bloodshed, hanging many of them who had the misfortune to fall into his hands, plundering their Houses of all they had, and confiscating and seizing their Estates. And not contented with this, he led his Army into *Scotland*, in hopes to catch the Fugitive *Earls*, and wasted *Tivedale* with Fire and Sword, and then returned into *England*, without gaining what he sought. The Queen was so incensed against them too, that she Attainted all that she could find were concerned in it, that were men of Estate, but shewed more Mercy to the Poorer people, whose Ignorance might bespeak her Compassion. She ordered also her Thanks to be given to those Noblemen and Gentlemen, who in the heat of this Affair had taken Arms and come into her

her Assistance, commanding competent Rewards to be given to all that deserved them; and that they should spare the Lives of all those miserable men, who should beg her Pardon, and acknowledge their Fault.

Out of the Ashes of this Rebellion there arose another at *Naworth* in the *North* part of *Cumberland*, upon *Severus's Wall*, which was headed by *Leonard* the second Son of *William Lord Dacres* of *Gillefland*. This Gentleman was discontented, because the Estate of his Family was by Law so vested in the Daughters of *Thomas Lord Dacres*, his Elder Brother, that it would pass into other Families with them; and this was the first spring of this Motion: He was in the Conspiracy of the Two Earls, and was then at Court managing an Intrigue with some Foreign Ambassadors, for some Assistance to be sent to them; but finding the War began unseasonably, he went to the Queen, and tendered her his Assistance against the Earls, and she granted him her Commission for the Raising men to that purpose: He thereupon sent some to encourage the Earls to persist, and to assure

Another Rebellion
springeth
out of this.

sure them, That he would join them with what Forces he could raise; but before he could get down and get into a Posture of Assisting them, he saw all their Army dispersed, and they forced to flee into *Scotland*; whereupon he formed a Design to Murder the Bishop of *Carlisle*, and the Lord *Scrope*, *Warden* of the *West Marshes*; which when he saw he could not effect, he recommended the Two Earls to the *Scots*, and seized *Greystoke* and *Caworth* Castles as his own, which belonged to the Family of the *Dacres*; and he got together about 3000 Borderers, with some others who were the Friends of that Ancient and Splendid Family. The Lord *Hunsdon* hearing of this Insurrection, drew out a part of the Garrison of *Berwick* (of which he was Governour), and marched against this Incendiary, who met *Hunsdon*, and fought stoutly at the Head of his Party; which was yet at last over-powered and broken; the Lord *Hunsdon* having no great reason to be overjoyed at the Victory, by reason of the Number of men he lost: *Dacres* fled into *Scotland*, and was with the two Earls Attainted in the next Parliament. Both these Rebellions were
caused

caused by Pope *Pius* his Bull, tho they broke out before the *Bull* was Published here in *England*, which was one great reason that they spread no further. The Delivery of the Queen of *Scots*, who was then in the Custody of *George* Earl of *Shrewsbury*; the Restoring the Popish Religion, and the suppressing the Protestant, was the last thing they aimed at; and the King of *Spain* was the Fomenter of these Troubles, and had sent them Assurances that he would send them Assistance from *Flanders*, and had his Agent at Court to promote it. But all these Projects being disappointed, *England* soon returned to her former state of Peace; and the rest of the Popish Party seeing their Weakness, and the Severity of the Government against these Ring-leaders, soon found how much it was their Interest to be quiet.

The secret Head of all these Motions, was *Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk*, who was the Richest, most Noble, and *Wise*st Peer then in *England*, and of the greatest Authority with the Queen, and no less beloved by the People. This Great Man having appeared a little over-inclined to favour the Interest of the

The Duke of Norfolk the secret Head of these Rebellions.

the Captive Queen of the *Scots*, in the *Xlth.* year of the Queen's Reign, he drew upon himself both the Suspicion of the Queen, and the Practices of his Enemies at Home and Abroad: The Pope, the King of *Spain*, and many of the Nobility of *England*, for different and very contrary ends, promoting a Marriage between the Queen of *Scots*, and this Duke; which being by the means of these Rebellions discovered in part to the Council of *England*, in the latter end of the year 1669, he was first Committed; he left the Court in Discontent, and resolved to Marry the Queen of *Scots*, without the Queen of *England's* Leave, tho he had promised the Queen he would proceed no further in this business: Whereupon he was committed Prisoner to the *Tower*, in the year 1571; and the 16th. of *January*, 1572, he was found Guilty of High-Treason, and Beheaded the 15th. of *June* following. The Greatness of his Fortunes and Soul, and the wonderful Affection the People of *England* on all occasions shewed to this Noble Gentleman, added to his Compassion for the Queen of *Scots*, who was a Lady of great Wit and Beauty, first stirred in him

him the thought of Marrying her upon her first coming into *England*; which coming to the Queen's ears, he was a little before the Rebellion of the *North*, put under Confinement; yet he found means to send Money to the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmorland*, but so privately, that after this he had his Liberty again. By the procurement of one *Robert Ridolf*, Agent for Pope *Pius Quintus* here in *England*, under the pretence of Merchandize, he was again drawn into a secret Practice for the Marrying that Captive Queen; which being discovered to the *Lord Treasurer Burleigh*, by the Duke's Secretary, out of mere Treachery, he was again Imprisoned, Tried, and Convicted, by one whom he most trusted, and least suspected of Designing against him. Thus wonderfully did God appear for this Religious Queen, turning all the Crafty Imaginations of her Enemies, and all their intended Violences, upon their own heads, for the Preservation of this Church and Nation.

Saith Mr. *Cambden*, 'The Love that the People of *England* bore to the Duke of *Norfolk*, is incredible, which he

The Character of the D. of Norfolk

‘ he had acquired by a Courtesie and
‘ Goodness which was worthy of so
‘ great a Prince. The Wiser part of the
‘ Nation were very differently affected
‘ towards him, some being affrighted
‘ at the Danger which was threatned to
‘ the Nation from his Numerous Party,
‘ whilst he lived to Head them: And
‘ others very heartily commiserating
‘ this Noble Gentleman, who was of
‘ an excellent Temper, of great Beauty,
‘ and of a Manly Aspect, and would
‘ have been the Ornament and Securer of
‘ his Countrey, if the fraudulent Arts
‘ of his Enemies had not turned him
‘ out of his former course and way of
‘ living, by the deceivable hopes of
‘ greater things, and the specious pre-
‘ tences and shews of promoting the
‘ Publick Welfare. His End renewed
‘ the Memory of his Father’s most un-
‘ happy Fate, who Twenty Five Years
‘ before was Beheaded in the same place,
‘ only because he wore the Scutcheon of
‘ *Edward the Confessor*, in his Arms;
‘ which were granted to the *Mowbrays*,
‘ Dukes of *Norfolk*, from whom he was
‘ descended Lineally, by King *Richard*
‘ the II^d.

This

This Bull of Pope *Pius V.* and his Practices against *England*, produced a shoal of Traytors to plague that Generation; for they were ever after it restlessly plotting and conspiring against their Sovereign, their Countrey, and their Kindred, with an invincible perfidy and obstinacy, which the Executions of many could not extinguish: But yet the Calamity did not end there; for from the same Exuberant Fountain of Mischief, issued those *refractory and stubborn Recusants*, who separating from the Communion and Service of the Church of England (which till then they had frequented without the least scruple or difference) they set up *Popish Conventicles*, and the *Latin Mass*, and called over a swarm of *Jesuits, Priests, and Monks*, to infest the Nation, and incense those that entertained them, against the Religion and Government that was established, and so perpetuated our Quarrels, and kept open the bloody wounds of this Kingdom. This is the thing we have most reason to complain of, because it has brought upon all the succeeding Times, great miseries and distresses; and the Wisdom of our Forefathers has not been able to cure this Disease. The Queen seeing in the mean

After these
Rebellions
followed a
shoal of
Treasons and
Conspiracies.

Which occasioned the Acts of P. against the Recusants.

time the mischief this would bring upon her Kingdoms, and being roused by the Rebellions in the *North*, and the intimations she had, that there were Designs on foot against her Person and Life, took up a resolution to put a stop to it; and to that end, passed an Act in the next Parliament *for the levying 20 l. the Month, upon all that should refuse to go to Church, and attend at the Service of God; or to take the Oath of Supremacy.* And finding that the *Jesuits and Secular Priests* were, under the Mask and Pretence of Religion, the Spies and Partisans of *Philip II. King of Spain*, and the Emissaries and Promoters of the Papal Tyranny and Disorder; and that their greatest business was to pervert her Subjects, and to entice them to commit the most unnatural and horrid Crimes, she banished them for ever from her Kingdoms and Territories, and made it Treason for them to return, and Felony for any of her Subjects (knowing them to be such) to entertain, conceal, or harbor them. This, which was designed by the Queen and the Government to cure, or rather to prevent their Treachery and Malice, by keeping them at a distance, inflamed their rage against her,

her, so that concealing themselves under the Habits and Dresses of Lay men, and sometimes under the Disguise of Mechanick and mean Trades and Employments, they lay as it were in ambush, expecting and ready to catch at any opportunity that offered it self to murder her.

— In the year 1578. which was the 12th year of her Reign, and the very year when the Popish Schism began; several of the Popish Priests fled over into *Flanders*, where *Philip II.* had already prepared for them a College at *Doway*; and here they put themselves under the Government of one *William Alan*, a Divine of *Oxford*; who having obtained a large Pension from the Pope, opened here a School for Rebellion and Treason; *To the end (say they) that as the Papal Priests in England are by time extinguished, there might always be a new Race to supply their Places, and sow the Seeds of the Roman Religion in England; and therefore they called these Places Seminaries, and those that were educated in them Seminary Priests.* The Colleges of the Jesuits opened in Flanders, &c.

The first of these Seminary Priests sent over, were *Robert Parson*, and *Edmund Campion*, in the year 1580. *Parson* was And called Seminaries. Parson and Campion the two first Seminary Priests sent into England.

a *Somersetshire* man, of a furious and hot Temper, and of an ungenteel behaviour: *Campion* was a *Londoner*, well bred, sweet and elegant, and both of them had been bred up in the University of *Oxford*, and had profess'd the Protestant Religion. These men, upon their coming over into *England*, appeared sometimes in a Military Habit, sometimes in the Dress of a Gentleman, and at others in the Habits of the Clergy, and sometimes like *Paritors*, and frequented the Country Houses, and Seats of the *Popish* Nobility and Gentry. *Parson* was so hot with them for the deposing of the Queen, that some of them were strongly inclined to deliver him up into the Hands of the Magistrates. *Campion* made it more his business to pervert the People by his Writings, to the *Popish* Religion; but his Reign was not long, for in the year 1581. he was taken and executed for High-Treason. The Queen had before this, put out a Proclamation to give these men a caution before-hand, That seeing they had put off all that Love which they owed to their Countrey, and the Allegiance which was due to her, they should yet behave themselves prudently and modestly, and not irritate

tate her Justice any farther against them; for she was now resolved not to be cruel to her self and her good Subjects any longer, by sparing such Miscreants, as she had found them to be: So that how severely soever they were used, they had the less reason to complain, because she had fairly before-hand told them what she meant to do, and what usage they might expect at her hands.

In the year 1583. *Francis Throgmorton*, the eldest Son of *John Throgmorton*, Chief Justice of *Chester*, *Thomas Lord Paget*, and *Charles Arundel*, and others of the Popish Religion, conspired to deliver the Queen of Scots out of her Confinement. *Henry*, Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Philip* his Son, Earl of *Arundel*, were suspected, and confined to their own Houses: and some others were suspected, and difficultly delivered themselves. For about this time, the outrageous Malice of the Popish Party against the Queen, broke out to that degree, that they printed Books to exhort the Queens Servants to serve her as *Judith* did *Holofernes*. The Author of which was never fully discovered, but it was suspected that it was written by

Gregory Martin of Oxford; but *Carter*, a Printer that printed it, was hanged; *Throgmorton* had the same Fate; but *Page*, and *Charles Arundel*, left the Nation, and went into *France*. *Stafford*, the Queen's Ambassador, desired they might be sent out of *France*, which was denied, because the Queen had at the same time entertained the Count *de Montgomery*, and had then with her, *Sagner* an Advocate of *Berne*, an Ambassador for the King of *Navar*, who was endeavouring to promote a War in *France*.

Parry's Con-
spiracy a-
gainst the
Queen.

In the year 1585. *William Parry*, a *Welshman* by Birth, and of a very mean Extraction, meanly learned in the Civil Law, but proud and gallant beyond his Means, being chosen a Member of the Lower-House, declaimed very furiously against a Bill then proposed in Parliament against the Jesuits, averring that it was a cruel, bloody, desperate Bill, and would be destructive to the Kingdom of England. Being desired to shew his Reasons for what he said, he refused to answer before any other than the Privy Council, whereupon he was committed, and afterwards upon his submission,

on, readmitted into the House ; but was afterwards accused by *Edmund Nevil*, the Heir Male of the House of *Westmorland*, to have a Design against the Life of the Queen, which he confessed afterwards in the Tower, upon which he was tryed and executed.

In the year 1586. *J. Ballard*, a Ruffling Priest of the College of *Reims*, came over to embroil the Nation, and made his visit to most of the Popish Nobility and Gentry in *England* and *Scotland*, being every where accompanied by one *Mand*, who was a Spy employed by Sir *F. Walsingham*. This Silken Priest came into *England* about *Easter*, and contracted a great acquaintance and friendship with Mr. *Anth. Babington*, of *Detbick* in *Derbyshire*, a young Gentleman of good Birth and Estate, of great Wit, and Learned above his years ; but being a great Zealot for the Romish Religion, he about a year before this, without the Queen's leave, went into *France*, and there was first debauched as to his Loyalty by *Morgan*, an Agent for the *Scotchmen* in that Court. *Ballard* informed this Gentleman, that the Queen of *England* would not live long,

Babington's Conspiracy.

His Character.

Savage sent to assassinate the Queen. because there was one *Savage* come over to assassinate her. This Project did not please *Babington*, so he formed a new

The Persons
in *Babington's*
Conspiracy.

Design, in which were *Edward*, Brother to the Lord *Windsor*, *Thomas Sarisbury*, of the County of *Denbigh*, *Charles Tilney*, one of the Gentlemen Pensioners that waited upon the Queen, and the only hope of his Family; but reconciled to the Church of *Rome* under-hand by this *Ballard*; *Chidick Tichburn*, of the County of *Southampton*, *Edward Abington*, Son of the Queen's Cofferer; *Robert Grage* of *Surry*, *John Traverse*, *John Charnock* of *Lancaster*, *John Jones*, whose Father had been Master of the *Wardrobe* to Queen *Mary*; *Savage*, and one *Barnwell* of a Noble *Irish* Family;; *Henry Dun*, a Clerk in the Tenth and First Fruits Office; and there was one *Polle*, who pretended to be a great Friend of the Queen of *Scots*, and was trusted very much in her Affairs, though he was a Spy employed by *Walsingham* the Secretary. *Nave*, the *Scotch* Queens Secretary, had in some degree scented the Treachery of this false Brother, and had given them a caution to beware of him; but he appeared so active to promote the Conspiracy, and pushed

pushed them on in the Design with so much Zeal and Warmth, that they had no manner of suspicion of him, tho he every day discovered to the Secretary what they did or said.

Babington was the great Manager of this Plot, and assigned to every one of them his business, without communicating to all the Orders he had given to the several Parties. He was very earnest that *Tilney* and *Tichburne* should be the men that should assassinate the Queen, which they at first stoutly refused, till *Ballard* and *Babington* undertook to prove to them, That it was lawful to kill an Excommunicated Prince; and that if Justice was in any cause to be violated, it was for the sake of the Catholick Religion; Yet they at last did not heartily consent, but in some sort yielded, but with great reluctance. *Abington*, *Barnwell*, *Charnock*, and *Savage*, were on the other hand prepared and ready for mischief, and so needed no Perswasion. *Sarisbury* would never be perswaded to have any hand in the Death of the Queen; but then he promised his assistance for the freeing the Queen of the Scots. Whilst they were contriving the Design, and taking

king care for Foreign Forces to second it, *Gilbert Giffard* a Priest, was sent over to put *Savage* in mind of his Promise, who was born of a good Family at *Chellington* in *Staffordshire*, not far from *Chartley* Castle, where the Queen of *Scots* was then a Prisoner; and he came over under the Name of *Luson*. His other Business was to take care to transmit beyond Sea the Queen of *Scots* Letters, which several others of Greater Quality had refused. This *Giffard* betrayed the whole Business to *Secretary Walsingham*, and sent him all theirs, and the Queen of *Scots* Letters; So that the whole Design was discovered, and to be proved as clear as the Light in Heaven. Whereupon the Queen ordered *Ballard* to be taken up, and *Babington* to be so closely observed, that he could not stir. *Giffard* was sent into *France*, where being suspected, he was clapt up in Prison, and perished miserably. The 13th of *September*, seven of the Conspirators were arraigned, and confessed the Crime, viz. *Ballard*, *Babington*, *Savage*, *Barnwell*, *Tichburn*, *Tilney*, *Abington*; seven denied it, and put themselves upon their Tryal. *Babington* was executed with great severity;

ty; *Savage* broke the Rope, and was cut up alive, without any hanging: These two, with *Savage*, *Barnwell*, *Tichburn*, *Tilney*, and *Abington*, were executed with great rigour the 20th of *Sept.* in *St. Giles's-Fields*. The next day the other seven were executed with more mercy, the Queen detested the cutting them up alive, as had been done the day before: These were *Sarisbury*, *Duns*, *Jones*, *Charnock*, *Traverse*, *Gage*, and one *Bellamy*, who was not in the Plot, but had a Brother in it, who hanged himself in Prison; and *Bellamy* was executed for concealing *Babington*, after he was declared to be a Traytor.

This Conspiracy being thus detected, This Conspiracy proved fatal to the Queen of *Scots*, and was the Cause and Pretence of her Death, she being tryed as one of them that had an hand in it, as without doubt she had.

The Papists in that, and all the succeeding Ages, have belched out against Queen *Elizabeth*, the Hellish Streams of an enraged Malice, traducing her as the most bloody and unmerciful Tyrant

A Justification of Queen *Elizabeth* against the Reproaches of the Papists.

rant that ever yet swayed a Scepter; and averring that the *Roman Catholicks* suffered as much or more in her Reign, than all the Primitive Christians did under the *Pagan* and *Arian Roman Emperors*. Now if this were literally true, yet they have no reason to complain, because they brought all this upon themselves, by their abominable Perfidy and Treasons, which the other never were guilty of. For could they think she was bound to sit still, and suffer them to depose and murder her? No; but if they find the Person of a Prince is out of their reach, that they cannot destroy it, their next care is, to defame them to Posterity, and so to murder their Reputation. But the necessary Inference is, That this is the worst Religion that ever got foot amongst men, and equally destructive to its own Votaries, and others, by putting them that embrace it, upon such base and detestable Practices, as must ruin both Body and Soul, and make their Names infamous to Posterity. Who can consider the Untimely End of *Mr. Babington*, a hopeful Young Gentleman, and not detest to the Pit of Hell, the Baseness and Treachery of *Ballard* and

and *Gifford*, those Firebrands of Hell, that brought him to so Untimely a Grave, with Infamy and Horrible Tortures ; for he was perfectly alive when he was cut open, and said after he was cut down, *Parce mihi Domine Jesu ; Lord Jesus spare me.* And however unjustifiable the Execution of the Queen of *Scots* is, these were the men that brought her too to an Untimely Grave, and betrayed her into the hands of her Enemies ; and in the Day of Judgment thty shall answer for her Blood!

The Queen in the mean time finding her Treasury exhausted by the vast Expences she had been put to for the upholding the *Hollanders* against the *Spaniards*; to whom in the year 1576. she Lent 20000 *l.* and after that time she furnished them several times: And in the year 1585. she had Cautionary Towns given her, and openly espoused their Cause, and undertook the protection of them. All these great Expences, and her Troubles at home, enforced her to demand Assistance of her Subjects in Parliament, which was accordingly given by the *Temporality* and the *Clergy* most freely and liberally, and with a kind

The Queen has a plentiful Supply given her in Parliament.

She discharged a Part of what was granted by her Proclamation.

kind of Emulation which should give most. The Queen finding on the other side, that of four *Subsidies* that were given her, three would do her business, she by her Proclamation discharged the fourth, and so much of the other three as was not levied; presuming that the backwardness of the payment was occasioned only by the poverty of those that should have paid it. Thus her Care and Thrift enabled her to maintain a vast Charge with a small Revenue; and at the same time relieve the needy part of the Nation, by her remitting one Part, and the whole Nation by releasing another Part; *which won the Hearts of her People to that degree, that they never after denied her whatever she asked.*

The Spaniards send Lopez and two others to murder the Queen.

The Spaniards finding their Naval Preparation in 1588. defeated; all their Designs against the *Hollanders* baffled; their Attempts in *Ireland* disappointed; their Forces wasted, and the Floods of Treasure the New World then sent them, exhausted to small or no purpose; in the Year 1594. out of meer spite and desperation they condescended so low, as to employ one *Roderick Lopez*

per a Jew, and a Physician by Profession, to Poyson the Queen; *Stephen Ferreira Gama*, and *Emanuel Loifio*, two *Portuges*, to stab her; but all this was so seasonably discovered to the Queen by the Letters that were sent to them, and intercepted by her Subjects, that they were all three taken up, and they all confessed their several Treasons, and had Sentence of Death for it, and they were all three executed for it; together with one *Cullin*, an *Irish* Fencing-Master, who was hired by the Fugitives in *Flanders*, and sent over to Murther the Queen, which he also confessed. And not long after, *Edmund York*, and *Richard Williams* were hired by *D. Ybarra*, a *Spaniard*, and these Fugitives, and sent into *England* on the same Errand, and here taken up. When the Queen was told of all the base Conspiracies against her Life, she was no way terrified at the danger, tho she saw *Henry the III.* fall by their Hands in the Year 1589. in *France*; but repeated that Passage in the *Psalms*, *Thou art my God, my time is in thy hand*, (*Psalm 31.*) And with a Masculine Courage, despising all their Rage and Baseness, she took great care of her self, and put her whole

Cullin, York,
and *Wil-*
liams, sent
from *Flanders*
on the same
Errand.

And executed
in 1595.

She spared
none of those
who fell into
her hands.

whole trust in God : For the rest, persisting to her dying day in her first Resolution, not to spare one of these Traytors that fell into her hands, as she at first told them in a Proclamation she would not : *And this is the true way of dealing with these Implacable Monsters, who are neither worthy of Mercy, nor capable of Repentance.*

A Digression
concerning
William Parry.

This Censure may possibly seem too severe to those that are not perfectly acquainted with the Principles and Tempers of these Men; and therefore it will not be amiss to confirm it with an Example : *William Parry*, mention'd above, was employed by the Jesuits to murder the Queen, and they had thoroughly perswaded him, *That there was nothing more Glorious than to die for the service of the Church; and that he would be reputed a Martyr, if he could extirpate her who was the Favourer of Heresie, and the Enemy of the Church.* To this End he came into *England*, in the Year 1583. And to insinuate himself into the Queen's Favour (whose Servant he had formerly been) and to obtain her belief, he freely and openly told her, that he had been solicited to

Murder

Murther her, by *Morgan* and other Fugitive Priests beyond the Seas; *Pretending that he had entred into a Familiarity with them to no other end, than to discover their secret Designs against her, and to take care of her Safety,* to whom he owed his Life; she having pardoned him when he had forfeited it to Justice, in the year 1580. The Queen heard all this Story with an unconcerned Courage, and told him, *That none of the Catholicks should be called in question on account of his Religion, or of the Pope's pretended Supremacy, if they behaved themselves in all other things like good Subjects.* Which words he afterwards confessed made such an impression on his mind, that he could not forget them: And after this he was so much in her good opinion, that he solicited for an Employment; but receiving a Letter from the Cardinal of Coma, wherein he commended the Design he was engaged in, (saith he) and sending him an Absolution in the Pope's Name; tho he shewed the Letter to the Queen, yet he persisted in his Resolution to Assassinate her; and from thenceforward had no scruple in his mind concerning the Lawfulness of the Fact. But then he pretended he was resolved first

Parry's Confession.

M

to

to try if he could perswade her by fair means to use the Catholicks more favourably: And when at any time he went to the Queen, he would lay by his Dagger, for fear the Opportunity should be too strong a Temptation to him. When he looked upon her, and considered her Royal Virtues, he confessed he was staggered in his mind: But his Vows were in Heaven, and his Letters and Promises on Earth, that he would do it; and this perpetually disquieted him, and put him on. At last he fell upon a Book written by Alan a Jesuit, to prove, That Princes that were Excommunicated, might be Deposed or Slain; and this Book was a strong Motive to him to go on with the Treason. And he communicated it to Nevil, (who afterwards Accused him); and they two having taken an Oath of Secrecy each to other, formed a Design to set upon her with Ten Horsemen when she was in the Countrey, and so Murther her. They could, however, never find the opportunity; and about six months after this the Earl of Westmorland dying, and Nevil being his next Heir, he discovered to Secretary Walsingham this Conspiracy. By the Queen's Order he sent for Parry, and asked him, If he had had any

His Design
discover'd by
one Nevil.

any Treaty with any Dissatisfied or Suspected person; opening him a door for his Escape; but he plainly denied he ever had; for if he had confessed it, and said he did it to try *Nevil*, he had without doubt escaped; but the Crime he had resolved upon, had blinded his eyes so, that he could not see it: Nay, he had the Impudence to say, That tho the Queen had twice spared his Life, yet he was not beholden to her for it, because it had been unjust to have taken it. The greatest part of this Narrative is extracted from his own Confession before the Lord Chancellor *Hatton*, and others; so that there can be no doubt of the Truth of it.

This her Severity to them struck a great Terror into the minds of the *Eng-lish* Papists, when they every where saw the Heads and Quarters of their Party exposed to the publick view, but nothing could cure or appease their fostered Malice. Her Majesty and Presence, we see, was able to excite the Admiration, and her undaunted Valour to terrifie this Cut-throat, as he confessed; but tho she charmed his hands, yet neither was her Mercy or Goodness

The Queen's Severity to these Conspirators made her terrible to the *Eng-lish* Papists.

But it was
God that pre-
served her.

able to melt his hardned heart ; nor was her Severity towards him and other such Miscreants, sufficient to mitigate the enraged Malice of the rest of the Jesuits and Popish Villains, but they still went on with their Hellish Designs to destroy her. But when all was done, the Goodness of God watched over her to preserve her, and frustrated all the Designs of wicked men against her ; and without this, all the wise Counsel of *Burleigh* and *Walsingham*, and the rest of her Servants would have signified nothing. We may see *Henry* the III^d. of *France*, and *Henry* the IVth. his Successor, tho they both professed the Roman-Catholick Religion, were Assassinated in the day time, in the midst of their Servants and Friends, by these Religious Villains, when it was not possible they that did it could escape ; and yet this Queen, who was more hated than either of them, and less able to defend her self, in the spite of all their Malice Reigned above Forty four years, and died in Peace. And it is worth the observing, That in all the times since the Reformation began, which is now One hundred seventy five years, though they have been engaged in endless Plots
against

against the Protestant Princes, yet they have been so far disappointed by the special Providence of God, that I do not know of any Prince they have been able to Assassinate, but *William* the First, Prince of *Orange*; and him they attempted twice before it succeeded.

There has been but one Protestant Prince Murdered since the Reformation, by them.

In the year 1567. there broke out a second Civil War in *France*, on the score of Religion, which filled that once most flourishing Kingdom with Factions and Seditions, and strangely exagitated the Towns and great Cities of that Kingdom; so that the people of *France* ran upon each other as if they had been divided and set on by a Divine Judgment. *Catherine de Medicis*, the Queen Dowager of *France*, had then assumed the Supreme Government, as Guardian to *Charles IX.* her Son, who was then a Minor: She and her Council were contriving by all the ways that were possible, to suppress the *Protestants* of *France*, which grew numerous during the Minority of the King, and under the Favour and Protection of the last Treaty; to this end they had ordered some men to be Levied in *Champagne*, and had sent for Six thousand *Swiss*:

The second Civil War in *France*.

The Prince of *Conde*, and *Coligny*, observing these Preparations, concluded they were made against them, and resolved to begin first; and they formed a Design to surprize the King and the Queen-Mother at *Meaux*; but she being informed of it, withdrew in the night time towards *Paris*; the Prince of *Conde* being thus disappointed, followed them to *Paris*, and Besieged that City, which being reduced to some streights, there followed a Fight at *St. Dennis*, in which *Montmorancy* was slain, but the Protestants were driven out of the Field; and they fell next upon *Chartres*, which they besieged. Queen *Elizabeth* thereupon ordered her Ambassador *Norris* to interpose between the Parties, and bring them to a Peace, as he did, *but it was short, and full of Insincerity and Treachery.* The Queen-Mother of *France* was now so afraid of Queen *Elizabeth*, that to prevent her sending Succours to the Protestants, she caused a Marriage to be proposed between her and the Duke of *Anjou*, her Second Son, who was afterwards King of *France*, by the name of *Henry III.* and was now about Seventeen years of Age, but this Treaty ended

ed with the Peace, for the procuring of which it was began.

In the year 1568. the War broke out again, by the Perfidy of the Popish Party, who had now joined with the Spaniards, by a Treaty made in a clandestine manner at *Baionne*, in the year 1565. *for the Extirpating the Protestant Religion in France and Flanders, and the mutual assisting each other to that purpose.* And the Duke *de Alva*, the Spanish Governor of the *Low-Countries*, had Orders to join with the *Guises* in this Religious work; and tho the King of *France* had in the beginning of this year promised them of that Persuasion Liberty of Conscience, yet he soon after put out an Edict to forbid all publick Exercise of any other Religion in *France* but the *Roman-Catholick*; and commanding all the Protestant Ministers to depart out of *France* within a certain time. This was followed by a severe Prosecution, and in many places they were Assassinated or Robbed, and all *France* was thereupon in Arms: Queen *Elizabeth* ordered her Ambassador to use all his Endeavours to procure a solid and a sincere Peace, shewing the

The third
Civil War
of *France*.

King, the *Methods* proposed would only serve to exasperate the minds of his People, and deprive him of the Service of his most faithful Subjects; so that the Forces of France being diminished with his People, his Kingdom would be exposed to the Violence of its Enemies: A Consideration which *Lewis* the XIVth. may have reason one day to think more seriously of: But now it was rejected, and the young King of France sent into Spain to borrow Money, and into Germany and Italy to raise Auxiliary Forces to carry on the War: Whereupon the Queen resolved not to be wanting to the common Protestant Interest (which was now plainly struck at); and upon the French Protestants assuring her, That they had not taken up Arms against the King's Authority, but for their own safe Defence, she sent them One hundred thousand Crowns in Money, and great Stores of Ammunition, and entertained all the French that fled into England, with great Humanity. It is worth the observing here, the Wild Notions of *Passive Obedience*, which have been since set on foot, were not in being in these times, the Queen desiring no other Security or Justification, than

She sends
100000
Crowns, and
great Stores
of Arms and
Ammunition
into France
to the Prote-
stants.

than this Protestation, which being joined with her own knowledg of the Designs of the *Guises*, was then thought sufficient to warrant a Defensive War, when nothing less than the Extirpation of the Protestant Religion was intended. She did not think these Subjects of *France* were obliged to submit to an Extirpation, because it was the Will of their Monarch to have it so; nor that she Assisted Rebels and Traytors against their Lawful Prince, when she undertook the Defence of those of her own Religion against a Tyrant, who contrary to all Faith and Humanity, had designed the Destruction of those he was bound and had promised to protect.

A Reflection
concerning
Passive Obedience.

The King of *France* seeing by this time a destructive War would follow, to distract the Minds and divide the Forces of the *Protestants*, promised that all those that continued quiet at home, should be tolerated; but this Facility, as a Jesuit calls it, when it was a mere Treachery, had no effect, the Perfidy of it was palpable: If he was in good earnest, why had he Revoked the former Edict, and began the War? Who could

The King of
France laboureth to
divide the
Protestants,
without Success.

could reconcile these two contrary Edicts, That they should and should not be tolerated at one and the same time? The Pope to promote this War, gave the King leave to sell Church-Lands, to the Value of 50000 Crowns by the year; and saith the same Jesuit, *Never were Church Revenues better employed, or granted away upon a better reason.* The destruction of Hereticks with Fire and Sword, contrary to the Publick Faith, is certainly a most Holy Work, and an Excellent Subject to spend the Revenues of the Church on. The next year the Armies drew into the Field, and in *March* there followed a Fight at *Jarnac*, in which the Prince of *Condé* was slain, and *Coligni* became General of the Protestants; and after this another at *Moncontour*, in which the Protestants lost 20000 men: They renewed their Forces, however, with that Alacrity, that in the year 1570. they forced the King, after a vast Expence of Blood and Treasure, when he saw he could not any longer continue the War without apparent Ruin, to make a Peace on the same terms with the former. The *Queen-Mother* was the Firebrand of *France*, and by her Dissimulation and Hypocrisy,

The true
Causes of this
and the other
Civil Wars
of *France*.

ly, raised all these Combustions there. She was jealous of the Princes of the Blood, of the House of *Bourbon*, who were become the Heads of the Protestants in that Kingdom; and she was perpetually Plotting how to ruin them, or force them to preserve themselves by War. The King of *Spain* pushed on the Incendiaries of *France*, under pretence of securing the Catholick Religion, but with a Design at the bottom to weaken that Kingdom by their intestine Wars, and at last to subdue it. Queen *Elizabeth* observed all this, and saw whither it tended; and by her seasonable Supplies upheld the Protestant Party, which was the weaker, till she forced the Court of *France* to see its Error, and lay aside, or rather change their destructive Methods, for others that were more infamous, and as ineffectual. In the mean time the noble Kingdom of *France* was desolated by Fire and Sword, their Populous Towns destroyed, their Rich Churches and Monasteries plunder'd, their Nobility and Gentry slain on both sides, and by their own Swords; their Matrons Ravished, and the Children Murdered in the Arms
of

The Queen
of *England*
preserv'd the
Protestants
of *France*.

of their Parents, and *France* was more wasted by this War in her bowels, than by all the Foreign Wars she had been engaged in from the time the *English* were expelled, to that time. *Was ever Church-Treasures better spent?*

The begin-
ning of the
Low-Country
War.

At the same time that *France* was thus miserably harass'd by an intestine War, the *Spaniards* were as busie in the *Low-Countries* to extirpate Heresie, as they pretended, but in truth to deprive those Provinces, under that pretence, of their Ancient Liberties and Civil Privileges, and to submit them to the Servitude of the Insolent *Spaniards*, that so they might from thence pass on to the Conquest of *England* and *France*, and so erect an Universal Monarchy in *Europe*; which Design they had Vanity enough to discover. To this end, in the year 1564. they erected Seven new bishopricks to curb that people. In the year 1565. he commanded the Council of *Trent* to be Revived, together with the Inquisition, and a strict observation of the Edicts concerning Religion. Upon this the Nobility of those Countries, as well those that persisted in

in the *Roman-Catholick* Religion, as those that were well inclined to the Reformation, seeing the Liberty and Riches, Trade and Commerce of their Countrey must be ruined, if these courses were taken, they interceded with *Margaret* the King's Sister, their *Regent*, that the King's Letter might not be put in execution; but she went on, however, and they on the other hand stood upon their guard, and as much as was possible hindred it. The next year the Quarrel grew higher, and the multitude rose in many places with an irresistible fury, and destroyed all the *Images* in the Churches of many of the great Cities; the Torrent ran so high, and was so impetuous, that the Regent was forced to publish an Edict of Liberty of Conscience, to appease the people, the *Spaniards* being not able by any other means to secure the Possession of these Countries; but so soon as the people were quieted, the Edict was recalled; which they owned was granted only to gain time to send for Men and Moneys, to force the Inhabitants of the *Netherlands* to submit to the King's Will, and to punish them for their disobedience. Yet however,
in

Liberty of
Conscience
treacherously
granted, and
re-called.

in the mean time, whilst this Edict was observed, all places returned to the former state of Peace, and Trade went on successfully; so that if the King of *Spain* could have perswaded himself to have complied with his Interest in this Affair, he and his Posterity had continued in the Peaceable Possession of these Provinces, which would have been worth the owning, Rich, Populous, and Potent, and able to defend themselves against the *French*. But by pursuing contrary Methods, he brought a War upon himself, which wasted *Spain*, ruined his Treasures, erected a part of these Provinces into an Independent Commonwealth; and so depopulated and impoverished the rest, that they are not able to defend themselves against the *French*: So that the breaking this Edict, proved the Ruin of all the *Spanish* Greatness.

The King of *Spain* enraged at the Edict for Liberty of Conscience.

This Liberty of Conscience, which was extorted from the Regent by pure Force and Fear, being sent into *Spain* to be confirmed by the King, he was highly displeased at it, and ordered some of his Council to let the Prince of *Orange* and Count *Egmont* know, 'That
' if

‘ if they or either of them had opposed
‘ these Insurrections with that Bravery
‘ they had shewed on other occasions,
‘ and as they were bound in Duty to
‘ have done, things could never have
‘ been brought by the Populace into
‘ the state they were now in: That if
‘ yet they would do their Duty without
‘ mincing or dissembling, absolutely,
‘ they might reduce things into the for-
‘ mer state, or at least keep them as
‘ they were, till the King could come
‘ thither himself to settle them. That
‘ it was the Duty of a good Subject,
‘ when he once knew his Prince’s Plea-
‘ sure, to set himself roundly, (with-
‘ out considering what should be the
‘ event to himself or others), to put the
‘ same in execution, and that willingly,
‘ readily, and effectually, tho he him-
‘ self were of a contrary opinion; for
‘ that it did not become them to think
‘ themselves wiser than their Prince,
‘ since they were his Subjects and Vas-
‘ sals. They had Advices at the same
‘ time from *Spain*, That the King was
‘ fixedly resolved to oppose these Grants
‘ of his Sister the Regent, both to pre-
‘ vent the Example as to his other Pro-
‘ vinces, and also preserve the Popish
Re-

The Spaniards design to settle an Absolute and Arbitrary Government in the Netherlands.

Religion in these. And they were informed also, that under the pretence of preserving the Catholick Religion in the Netherlands, there was a Design formed to advance the King's Power; and that they were not displeased at Court, that they had this occasion given them to bring the whole under, and settle in them a new and more Absolute Form of Government, because they concluded in Spain, That all the Obstinacy the people had shewn, proceeded from their Reliance upon their great Freedoms and Privileges. But then this was to be concealed with the utmost care from them; and the King and the Regent to delude and deceive them, wrote the kindest Letters, and spoke the sweetest Words to the Confederate Lords, and especially to the Prince of Orange, that the Wit of man could invent. But in the mean time, the Regent Levied Two Regiments in Flanders, under the Earls of Arenbergh and Megem, and Two more in Germany, under Count Philip of Overstein, and Three of Walloons, and a German Regiment of Horse, under Count Mansfield: These Forces were Levied in distant places, and upon different pretences, and brought into, or near the Provinces; and

and then the Regent began to throw off her Mask by degrees; *And she ordered the Protestant Meetings and Sermons in many places to be disturbed, pretending they were not kept just in the same place that they were at first allowed. And after, she went on and seized on and imprisoned some of the Preachers on the same pretence; and she hanged one of them near A E- L E S T.* And when complaint was made of these Proceedings to the Regent, she would sometimes say, *Her Consent was not free, but extorted from her by fear, and therefore she was not bound to keep her Promise.* And at other times she would say, *She promised them a Liberty to Preach, but she never meant they should Marry, Bury, Baptize, Administer the Lord's Supper, and hold Consistories, and the like.*

The Regent grows severe against the Protestants, on various pretences.

When the Regent saw her Forces at hand, she wrote to the City of *Valen- ciennes* to receive a Garison, in the year 1566, because that City was more inclined to embrace the Reformed Religion, than any of the rest in the *Low- Countries*, and had rescued some that were condemned to be burnt for Here- sic heretofore, and also because it was

Valenciennes commanded to receive a Garison.

N

near

The rest of
the Cities
petition for a
General As-
sembly of the
States.

nearer to *France*, and so more suspected. They refused to comply with this Command, alledging many Reasons and Privileges to the contrary; and were thereupon proclaimed Rebels the 14th. of *December*. After this, all means good and bad were used to prevent the exercise of the Protestant Religion; which had its effect in all places, but *Amsterdam*, *Antwerp*, *Sherlogen-bosk*, *Maeſtricht*, *Utrecht*, and *Ghent*; for these Cities still upheld it. These Proceedings alarm'd the Cities of *Flanders*; and *Antwerp* sent a Committee of the principal Inhabitants to consult with the Deputies of the Cities in *Brabant*, who all joined in a Petition to the *Regent*, *That there might be a General Assembly of the States, to take present order concerning the business of Religion, by provision, That then new Orders might be therein made for the preserving the true Christian Religion, the Authority and Majesty of their King, and for the promoting the Prosperity of these Provinces: That in the mean time assurance should be given to those of the Reformed Religion, That they should not be molested or disquieted during this Suspension: That after the said States have resolved*
with

with the King how they will settle these things, those that were not satisfied with their Orders, might have some Months time given them to retire in, whither they pleased; and those that would submit, should have a general Pardon granted them. This reasonable Request was very little debated, because they of the Council knew the King's mind; but was altogether rejected. The principal Nobility of these Countries thereupon met at *Dermonde*: And here was read the Letter written by the Lord *Montigni*, giving an account how much the King of *Spain* resented the present state of Affairs in the *Low-Countries*: And there was also read a Letter written by *Francis Davala*, the *Spanish Ambassador* in the Court of *France*, to the *Regent of Flanders*, the 29th. of *August*, 1566. which was intercepted; wherein he endeavoured to confirm her Highness in her opinion, That all the Calamities of the *Netherlands* sprang from the *Triumvirate*, (meaning the *Prince of Orange*, and the Counts of *Egmont* and *Hoorne*): That it was fit nevertheless to shew these all the respect that was possible; and to tell them, that the King owned the pre-

The Designs of *Spain* discovered to the Nobility of the *Netherlands*.

‘ serving those Countries to have been
‘ the effect of their Loyalty and good
‘ Service: But yet when time served he
‘ would punish them: And also the
‘ two Lords that were now in *Spain*,
‘ who should be kept there still to that
‘ purpose, with Counsellor *Rennert*;
‘ and that the King had sworn at *Madrid*,
‘ That he saw well that what had hap-
‘ pened in the *Netherlands*, was not only
‘ prejudicial to his Honour, but also to
‘ the Service of God, which touched
‘ him so near, that he would run the ha-
‘ zard of losing all the Dominions he
‘ had, rather than not chastise this Re-
‘ bellion exemplarily in the sight of all
‘ *Christendom*; and that he would go
‘ thither in Person, and send to the Em-
‘ peror and the Pope for Assistance.
‘ That his Majesty would certainly reap
‘ great Advantages from the ill things
‘ that had been done; and expected to
‘ see those Countries brought under his
‘ Absolute Command; and to settle af-
‘ ter this, both the Religion and the
‘ Civil Government, as he thought fit;
‘ which the King could never have
‘ done, if these things had not hapned.
‘ That the King had desired this a long
‘ time, and they had now given him
‘ means

' means to bring them under as to the
' Civil State, and to quiet them as to
' the matters of Religion, as he thought
' fit.

Thus the Crafty *Spaniard* made up his reckoning without his host, and in the end found himself deceived. The Nobility were never able, however, to come to any Resolve, because Count *Egmont* was resolved to throw himself upon the King's Mercy, and the Prince of *Orange* durst not undertake to Head the Leaguers against so Potent and Implacable a Prince as *Philip* the II^d. was then : So this Discovery terrified and divided, instead of uniting them : And the City of *Valenciens* in the mean time defended it self very resolutely, from the 14th. of *December* to the 24th. of *March*, and then was forced to submit to Mercy : *Norcarmes*, the General for the King of *Spain*, thereupon hanged up their Ministers, and about Two hundred of the best of the Inhabitants ; whereupon the Regent forced or persuaded a great part of the Nobility to take an Oath to maintain the *Roman-Catholick Religion* ; but yet the Prince of *Orange*, and some few others, refused

The Discovery at the first only terrified and divided them.

Valenciens besieged.

A bloody
Persecution
against the
Protestants
of the *Nether-*
lands.

fed it, and retired. After this, she fell to shut up all the Protestant Meeting-Houses, and opened the Popish Churches, furnishing them splendidly with new Images, and other such-like Necessaries; and they hanged up the contrary Party by whole-sale, fifty or an hundred in a place, some for pulling down their Images, and others for bearing Arms against the Government: And in some of the greater Cities they hanged up two, three, or four hundred men, making Gallows of the Timber of their Meeting Houses. Upon this many thousands of the Inhabitants of these Countries retired, some into *England*, and others into *Germany*; so that by the beginning of *May*, 1567. the Regent was intirely Mistress of all the Seventeen Provinces, and there was not the least opposition any where made to whatsoever she was pleased to order. Yet the King was never the more appeased; but so soon as he heard the Inhabitants were mastered and brought under, he put *John* Marquess of *Bergen ap Zoom*, and the Marquess *Van Montigni*, two *Flandrian* Noblemen, both of the *Roman-Catholick* Religion, who went into *Spain* to inform him of the
state

state of Affairs, and to induce him to shew pity to his good Subjects, into Prison ; where they both perished, by what means was not known ; and besides, he seized both their Estates. In truth, after long consultation it was resolved, *That the first Legal Pretence that should be offered, should be taken to bridle these Provinces, that they might so be brought into the new form of Conquered Kingdoms, and be put under other Laws : They pretended also, that it was impossible without this to keep these Countries in the Roman-Catholick Religion , because they were on all sides surrounded with Heretick Countries, and relied very much upon their Civil Privileges and Liberties ; and this reason was very much pressed upon the King's Conscience by the Fathers of the Inquisition.* So that these Countries were doom'd to Slavery and Oppression, as the only means to preserve Popery, which can never thrive in a free enlightned Countrey : And their case was perfectly like ours ; for we too of late were to be Conquered, and our Laws changed for the same end.

It was observed with great wonder on all sides, That when they took so

The Breakers
of Images
not put upon
it by the Re-
formed.

The use Spain
designed to
make of this
Disorder.

The Chara-
cter of the
Duke of
Alva.

many, and punished so severely those that had pull'd down and destroy'd the Images, there was not one of them to be found, that would confess that they had been put upon this, or persuaded to it, by those of the Reformed Religion; but they all said it proceeded *from an Impulse upon their minds, of which they could give no account*: But however, in *Spain* it was resolved to take the opportunity of these Troubles, to bring under and subdue all these Provinces, and to deprive them, by way of Punishment, of all their Privileges and Liberties; and altho all was quiet in the beginning of the year 1567, yet they were not satisfied with the Punishment of the particular persons that had offended, but resolved to extend their Revenge to all the Provinces, and to those of their own Religion, as well as to their Opposers: And to fulfil this Bloody Tyrannical Resolution, the *Duke d' Alva* was chosen, a man of great Experience in Warlike Affairs, and well acquainted with these Countries, and of a merciless violent Temper. The *Inquisition and Clergy of Spain* opened their Treasures, and furnished the King liberally with Money also, for they looked upon
this

this as an *Holy War*, and hoped to make it the dawning to a general Destruction of the Protestants. This Duke arrived at *Brussels* the 21d. of *August*, 1567. with 8678 *Spanish* and *Italian* Foot, and 1600 Horse; and 12000 *German* Horse and Foot; tho all was quiet, and no opposition to be feared, if they he brought with him did not cause it: He concealed a great part of his Commission; yet what he produced of it, went very much beyond that which had been given to the Regent that now was recalled and discharged of the Government. The Duke usurped presently an *Absolute and Uncontroulable Authority*; and having appointed a Council of *Twelve Bloody Men*, he disposed of the Lives and Fortunes of the Subjects of the *Low-Countries*, of all States and Conditions, contrary to their Laws, without any Appeal, Reformation, or Revision of his Sentence. He proceeded to that height of Cruelty and Tyranny, that Nine of the Twelve left the Council out of pure shame, and went home: *for he had obtained from the King before he came thither, a Full, Absolute, Sovereign Authority, which was not bounded by any Laws or Instructions,*
and

He comes in-
to Flanders.

The Coun-
cil of Blood
settled.

and was not to be contradicted by any body : Which was contrary to all the Laws of that people, and to the King's Oath and Promise ; but he relied upon his Forces, and was not at all concerned what men thought or said of him. Amongst the Eighteen Rules which the Council of Blood prescribed to themselves to judge by, these were some.

Their Rules.

1. *All Petitions made by the States, Cities, or Nobility of the Land, against the New Bishops and the Inquisition, or to have any of the Placaets made by the King or Council moderated, were Conspiracies against God and the King.*

2. *That all the Lords, Nobility, and Governors, that had not appeared against the Petitions, Preachings, and breaking down of Images, are guilty of the same Crime, tho they appeared discontented at them, and ashamed.*

3. *And all those that took the Proceedings of this Court for Tyrannical, Unjust, or Illegal.*

The Counts of Egmont and Hoorne the first they seized.

The First this Council began with, was Count Egmont, the Count Van Hoorne, and Anthony Van Straten, Burgomaster of Antwerp, who were treacherously

cherously summoned to a great Council, and there Arrested by the Order of the *Duke d' Alva*, the 9th. of September, 1567. which put the Countrey into such an affright, that all degrees of men fled into all the Neighbour Countries; but however, they went on, and filled the Prisons with the remainder, and such as they hapned to take; and it was observed, that they had beforehand taken good care to Repair, Strengthen, and enlarge these places; yet in some places they were broken up, and the Prisoners discharged by Force. Having spent the rest of this year in Ruining and Attainting the Nobility, they in the year 1568. began to Persecute the meaner sort of people, citing Thirty, Forty, or Fifty at a time, out of every City in the Provinces, to appear before this Council; and upon their not appearing, (as none but the Imprisoned durst), they seized upon their Estates, and confiscated their Goods to the King's use: Thus they dealt with the Rich; but as for the poorer people, they took them up and hang'd them, without any more Ceremony. They pretended by this Violence to enrich the King, and to establish the *Romish* Reli-

And after
them vast
numbrs of
the meaner
Inhabitants.

Religion; but they frightened away the people, alienated their hearts from him, and drove many *Roman-Catholicks* into Protestant Countries, where they embraced that Religion they had only a moderate opinion of before. To remedy a part of these Inconveniencies, they published an Order, That whosoever harboured or assisted any person that was fled, or held any Correspondence by Letters or otherwise, should be thought guilty of the same Crime; and that any Ship that carried off any of their Goods, or any Wagon or Boat that furthered their Escape, or conveyed away their Goods, should be forfeited.

These Proceedings alarm all the Protestants in *France*, and Queen *Elizabeth*.

The noise of these Proceedings alarmed all the Protestants in *France*, and was the principal Cause of the renewing the War there; of which I have already given a short account. Queen *Elizabeth* was a sorrowful Observer of all these Tyranical Encroachments on the Lives, Liberties, and Fortunes of her Neighbours; and such as fled into *England* from the bloody and outrageous treatment of the Duke of *Alva*, and the *Spaniards*, found here in *Eng-*
land

land a secure Sanctuary, and had her leave to settle at *Normich*, *Colchester*, *Sandwich*, *Maidstone*, and *Hampton*, to the great Advantage of the *English* Nation, and the great Impoverishing of the King of *Spain's* Territories, by setting up here the making of *S A T E S*, *B A T E S*, and *STUFFS*, which the *English* before fetched out of *France* and *Flanders*. The King of *Spain* would have no Hereticks (as he call'd them) and none of his Subjects should have any Civil Liberties to secure them against his Will or Humour : But then he might have foreseen he should have lost his *Subjects*, his *Trade*, his *Wealth*, and he had reason to fear he should lose his Countrey too ; but he trusted in Force, and it deceived him ; but no Force could secure the other Three ; Men are not like Beasts of Burthen ; they must be well treated, or they will flye, or not work, or be poor, or fail, and the Land become desolate, and not be able to defend it self. How happy had *Philip* II. and *Lewis* XIV. been, if they had but understood this ? The ignorance of this has ruined many flourishing Empires, I might say all ; and this is that first Cause of the Ruin of the

They fly in-
to England,
and set up
many Manu-
factures.

The Conduct
of this Prince
considered.

the *Ottoman* Empire, which has sapped its Foundations, and brought a Consumption upon it, which in a few years will destroy it. Thus also fell the *Roman*, and all the other Empires, when the fatal time was come. Not that Religion was then the pretence of the oppressing their Subjects, but Oppression is the same thing, and will eternally have the same effect, be the Pretence or Motive what it will. *Emanuel Van Meteren*, in his Third Book of the History of these times, deploring the Loss his Countrey sustained by being deprived at once of all its Trades, and so many of its useful and industrious Subjects, saith, ' That there was not less ' than an Hundred thousand people that ' then fled into strange Countries to ' earn their bread; and tho some of ' these afterwards returned, yet the ' main body of them never did; and ' their Trades were lost to the *English* ' and other Nations, who learned them ' of these people, and exercise them to ' this day.

The Queen of *England* seeing the King of *Spain* was deaf to all her and her Neighbour Princes Entreaties and
Inter-

Intercessions with him for the mitigating his Sanguinary and Cruel *Edicts* concerning Religion; and that he had set up in the *Netherlands* a *Spanish Inquisition* for the more grievous Torturing the Consciences of his Subjects: That he had denied an Assembly of the States of the *Netherlands*, (which was the only and the usual way of composing their Affairs, when they were in any disorder): That he governed them rather by Arbitrary Orders sent from *Spain*, than by the Laws of the Countrey, or Counsels of the Natives: That he made use of the Tumults which the meanest of the people had fallen into upon the account of the Images, tho they were presently suppress'd, and that by the Natives, to bring one of the Freest Nations of *Europe* under the intolerable yoke of an Arbitrary Government; turning unjustly the rash Folly and Madness of a few mean people, to the great Damage of this whole Nation, by pretending All that people had rebelled against him, and thereby Forfeited their Ancient Liberties. She saw also that he had sent *Ferdinand Alavares, Duke of Alva*, a Bloody man, to usurp this Arbitrary Government, who

The reasons which mov'd the Queen of *England* to oppose the *Spaniards*.

who being no way related to the Royal Family, was now constituted the Supreme Governor of these Provinces, contrary to their Laws, and that he had abolished and suspended the Jurisdiction and Authority of all their Legal Courts, and brought in amongst them a new unheard of *Tribunal*, which had proceeded illegally against several of the Nobility of that Countrey, and condemned them to death, and they had been thereupon executed. That *Spanish* Garisons were quartered, and Citadels built in the great Towns and Cities; and the Twentieth Penny of all their Real Estates, and the Tenth of their Personal had been illegally assess'd, and by force levied. She saw also that the *Duke d'Alva* the 29th. of *December*, 1568. had furiously and impatiently seized the Goods and Persons of her own Subjects, and put them into the Custody of his Soldiers, on the pretence of some Moneys stopped in *England*, which belonged to the Merchants of *Genoua*, who had consented to the *Embargo*; and she concluded this enraged man was not content to oppress the *Netherlands*, but would needs make himself a Terror to her and her people

people too; whereupon this Heroick Lady commanded all the Ships and Goods of the *Netherlands* which were in her Ports, to be stopp'd; which were of greater value than those the Duke had been able to find in the *Low-Countries*; whereby she humbled that proud, hasty man, and made him see how little she could fear either him or his Master.

This Action of the Queen's opened the eyes of the poor oppressed people of these Countries, and shewed them the way to deal with their Oppressors was to attack them by Water, and not by Land. They had made several attempts on the side of *Germany*, under the Command of some of their banished Nobility, in the year 1568; and they had been unfortunate in all of them. *Lewis Van Nassau*, Brother of *William Prince of Orange*, tho he had 7000 men, Horse and Foot, and was a good and a prudent Commander, and had taken all the care that was possible to prevent Misfortunes, yet he was defeated near *Emden*. The Prince of *Orange*, who followed after, was in a short time forced to retire into *France*, tho he had

The Inhabitants of the *Netherlands* follow the Example of *Q. Elizabeth*.

The Character of

11000 men under him. The two next years he served the Prince of *Conde* in *France*; and in the year 1569. he took up the Resolution to grant Letters of *Mart* to all that would put out Ships to Cruise against the *Spaniards* in the *Low Countries*; the *Heer Van Dolhain* being Admiral, who in that year took, and spoiled, and ransomed many Ships. This good success encouraged more in the year 1570. to take this course; and as they grew stronger and more numerous, so they had better success. In 1571. they set upon the Fleet that was going to *Spain*, and took and plundered a great part of it in the *Texel*. The Duke of *Alva* sent out some Men of War against these Privateers, but to small purpose, because they were small and too nimble for his great Ships; and *Germany* and *England* protected, victualled, and harboured them. Whereupon in the year 1571. he sent to the Queen of *England* to complain of the Harboursing these Pyrates as he called them. The Queen was in no haste to do his business after he had so far provoked her, but in the year 1572. when they were become Rich, and very Numerous, she put out a severe Proclamation

He complains to Q.
Elizabeth of
her Harbour-
ing the Ne-
therland Py-
rates.

tion against them, commanding them to be gone by a limited time, or to be seized in her Harbours; whereupon in *March* this year they put themselves under the Command of *William Van Marck*, Lord *Lumey*, to the number of about Thirty Ships or Fly-Boats, well mann'd and victuall'd; and these had the good fortune to find the *Briel* without any Garison, and so they took Possession of it without any opposition, the first of *April*. The eighth of the same month, *Flushing* joined with them, and cast out the few *Spaniards* were there. And after this, in a short time the whole Provinces of *South* and *North Holland*, as fast as they could by any means get rid of the *Spanish* Garisons, revolted from them, and took up Arms against the *Duke of Alva*, declaring at first for the *Prince of Orange*, as Stadtholder to the King of *Spain* in these Provinces. Thus were the Foundations of the Liberties of the United Provinces in the Low Countries, laid in the blood of its Inhabitants, and as heartily at first promoted by the *Roman-Catholick* Subjects, to preserve their Civil Privileges, as by the Protestants to secure their Lives and Fortunes from the Arbitrary

They seize the Sea-Ports of *Holland* and *Zealand*.

Which was the beginning of the United Provinces.



Violence of the *Spaniards*: ' So that if
 ' either of them were Rebels, it was
 ' because *Philip* the II^d. would not be
 ' contented with the same degree of
 ' Power the former Princes his Prede-
 ' cessors had enjoyed; but made use of
 ' a Ferment the Providence of God and
 ' his own Cruelty and Imprudence had
 ' raised in the minds of his Subjects,
 ' to enslave the Innocent and the Guilty.
 ' And altho he made Religion his Pre-
 ' tence, yet Ambition and Worldly
 ' Greatness, and the subduing his own
 ' People and all his Neighbours, was
 ' the Real Motive at the bottom. I
 conclude therefore, That he was a Ty-
 rant, and a Perfidious Man; and his
 Subjects that revolted from him upon
 such horrid Provocations, and after they
 had done all that was possible to bring
 him to better courses, were no Rebels.
 I cannot here but observe how frequent-
 ly and passionately of late the *Holland-*
ers were called Rebels and Traytors
 here, by a sort of men who were going
 to act upon us all the ill things the *Spa-*
niards did there; but wanting Num-
 bers, they were forced to go slowly on,
 and had great thoughts of heart, that
 our Doctrine of *Non-Resistance* might
 fail

fail them when they stood most in need of it to bind up our hands till they should cut our Throats; and therefore they declaimed furiously against these *Hollanders*, to fright us into the snare. But certainly the man must be very silly, that would at all regard the being called a Rebel by the *Roman-Catholicks*; or part with all that is valuable, to avoid that Reproach from such men of all others.

But to return from this Digression concerning the Cause of this War: The Queen seeing her Neighbours in the *Netherlands* thus oppressed by the Savage Tyranny of the Duke *De Alva*, and so injuriously exhausted by his Arbitrary and Illegal Exactions, Prosecutions and Murthers, and all the other Calamities of an unjust War; and the distressed Inhabitants of these Provinces flocking in great numbers into her Kingdom, to shelter themselves from the Affronts, Assassinations, Pride and Cruelty of this Enemy and Executioner, with all they could bring away with them, she opened her Ports to receive them, and with great compassion heard their bitter Complaints, whilst they

Q. Elizabeth
undertakes
the Protection
of her oppressed
Neighbours.

deplored the Miseries of their Country, and begged her Protection, pursuant to the Treaties and Leagues between *England*, and the House of *Burgundy*. She always expressed a great regard for those Nations and Countries that lay near hers, and were by Leagues united to her; and she was the more afflicted for this People, because she saw the extirpating the Protestant Religion, was made the Pretence of one of the most flagrant Injuries that was ever offered to a Free People: And therefore she was the more easily induced to deliver these her nearest Allies out of the Jaws of this Pyrate and Enemy of Mankind; and to curb the Insolence of these *Spanish* Forces, that from all quarters were poured in upon these miserable Countries, to enslave and destroy them. She thought there was nothing in this world which so well became the Majesty of a Prince, and tended more to her Reputation and Glory, than the taking Arms against such men as these, and in the Defence of such Supplicants, to deliver them at once from the most intolerable Dangers, and from Slavery. It is very probable she would for a longer time have dissembled the Injuries the
King

King of *Spain* had done to her and her Subjects, if he would have mitigated his Rigors in the *Low Countries*; but seeing that was not to be hoped for, she resolved to put a stop to his Rage by Force; and for the *Glory of God, and the common Safety of the Protestant Interest*, to assist the *Netherlanders* with Men, Money, Arms, Ammunition, and whatever else was necessary to keep them out of the hands of their Oppressors. She neither feared the Greatness of *Philip the II.*, nor the Threats of *France*, nor the Secret and Treacherous Machinations and Plots of her own Popish Subjects at home; nor the Hazards, Expences, or Calamities of a very dangerous and lasting War abroad, with the Richest and most Potent Princes in her Times; but putting her sole Trust and Confidence in the Providence and Protection of God, she chearfully and undauntedly entred the Lists with these men, that her Neighbours and Friends, Confederates and Allies, might enjoy their Ancient Liberties and Privileges, their beloved Countrey, their Estates and Fortunes, and the Liberty of their Consciences, and live happily. She thought no Labour, no Danger, no Ex-

pence too great to be hazarded, to obtain so great a Blessing for them; but went through all that stood in her way, with Courage, Equanimity, Fidelity, and Constancy: By which she acquired an Immortal Glory, and is still esteemed the Deliverer and Preserver of this People, and in truth of the whole Protestant Interest in *Christendom*. The Kings of *France* and *Spain* in the mean time threatned to expel her out of her Kingdoms; and promoted Rebellions in *England* and *Ireland* to that end against her; but there happened such dreadful Civil Wars in both their Kingdoms, that they were very much disabled from prosecuting these Designs to the degree they intended. And she for her part was not wanting, but sent her Forces both into *France* and *Flanders*, to find these two Monarchs work at home, and by kindling Fires in their Kingdoms, prevented their laying her own in Ashes. Thus at the same time she delivered *Britain* from the fear of a War with *France* and *Flanders*; and whilst she protected her Oppressed Neighbours, she preserved her own Subjects from an intolerable Foreign Servitude. Thus she preserved *England*
for

for ever from the Danger of a *Spanish* Invasion and Conquest, upon which they were then bent, and slew vast numbers of their best Commanders and Forces both by Sea and Land.

France for the first Thirty Years of *French Affairs*. her Reign was perpetually involved either in an actual Civil War within its own bowels, or enjoyed an uneasy and a suspected Peace; so that this Kingdom was never so quiet, as to be able to look abroad, and give any disturbance to its Neighbours. The Protestant Party was strong and numerous, and every day grew greater, and was headed by the Princes of the Royal Family of the House of *Bourbon*: And the Popish Party on the other side was the far greater Party, and was headed by the Royal Family that was in Possession of the Crown of *France*: So that *Henry II.* and *Francis II.* *Charles IX.* and *Henry III.* his Sons, who were all successively Kings of *France* one after the other, did all that was possible, by Wit and Policy, Force, Perfidy, Wars, Massacres, Breach of Faith, and Surprizes, to extirpate this Party; and when all was done, the End of Seven Civil

Civil Wars one after another, was a Toleration; and the End of every Toleration, but the last, was a Civil War, began by the Popish Party, upon the Principle, *That no Faith was to be kept with Hereticks*; which Maxim was so often alledged, either by way of Excuse, or by way of Incitement, or Justification, that nothing but the Weakness of the Protestant Party could possibly have induced them to accept a Security, which had been so often forfeited, and which they were certain would last no longer, than till the Popish Party were in a condition to break it. And yet the keeping of the Seventh, that was granted by *Henry the IVth*. in the year 1596. did them more damage than the breach of all the other Six that went before it; because by its long duration it disarmed and effeminated that Party, and robbed them of their Fears, their Martial Courage, and that keen Zeal for their Religion, which the Perfidy and Violence of the former Times had kept alive. We desire Peace and good days; but God who knows our temper, and what will follow very often, sends us Troubles for our good, which like Physick keeps us alive, tho it doth not please us.

In

In the year 1565. there was a secret League made at *Bayone*, between the Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, which was called, *The Holy League*, because chiefly designed for the extirpating the *Protestant Religion* out of *France* and *Flanders*; tho it was managed with all the Privacy and Secrecy that was possible, yet the suspicion of the Protestant Party gave them the first hint to dive into it; and within a little time it was discovered both by its effects, and by the cross Interests of many of the *Roman-Catholicks*, who were to be deprived of their Civil Privileges, in lieu of having their Religion established and preserved. This gave the occasion to all those fearful Commotions in *Flanders*, which I have just now related: And in *France* there followed a Civil War in the year 66. another in the year 1568. which in the year 1572. was ended by a Treaty of Marriage between *Henry of Bourbon*, King of *Navarre*, Head of the Protestants, and *Margaret* Sister of *Charles the IXth.* then King of *France*. Here the *Roman-Catholick* Party played their last Card, and with a Diabolical Perfidy and Cruelty which has no Example in Sacred or Prophane

Hi-

A Private League between *France* and *Spain* against the Protestants.

Henry III suc-
ceeds in
France.

The D. of
Guise designs
against that
Prince.

History, ~~and~~ Massacred vast Numbers of the Principal Nobility and Gentry of the Protestants, who were come to *Paris* to see the Marriage, not being able to suspect a Court could be so base as to stain it self in so Treacherous a manner with the blood of men who relied upon their Faith. The next year after *Charles* died; and *Henry* the III^d. his Brother, who had been a great Actor in the Massacre, succeeded him in the Kingdom of *France*: Under him the *Holy League*, as it was called, went slowly on; and he was not so forward to involve his Kingdom in War and Blood, as the weaker Princes, his Brothers had been; but he was rather inclined to destroy them insensibly by the Arts of Peace, as it came afterwards to be done; but this Method was disliked by the *Popish Party* in *France*, which is for the most part Fiery and Cruel, and will never use slow and gentle ways, but when it is impossible they should do otherwise. Hereupon the Duke of *Guise*, a Valiant, but very Factionous Gentleman, began in the year 1576. to set up himself against his Prince; and in the year 1584. he got himself declared Head of the *Holy League*

League against the King his Master, as a *Favourer* of *Herésie*, by Gregory the XIIIth. then Pope of *Rome*, and a great part of the bigotted and discontented Clergy and Nobility of *France*: Whereupon in the year 1585. followed the Seventh Civil War in *France*, upon the Pope's Excommunicating the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde*, for *Herésie*. This last War was began by the Popish Party, against the opinion, and without the consent of *Henry* King of *France*; and accordingly it thrived, the King of *Navarre* beating them in the Battel of *Courtay*, in the year 1587. After which Victory, the King was desirous to have a Peace, and the *Guises* and the Popish Party to continue the War: And upon this the *Roman* Catholic Party subdivided it self into two Factions, part siding with the King for a Peace, and part joining with the *Guises* to carry on the War, and depose this King as a Favourer of *Herésie*, softened with Pleasures, and unfit for Government.

The Duke of *Guise* was a younger Branch of the Family of *Lorraine*, which is esteemed the Direct Heir of the House of *Guise*.

An Account
of the House
of *Guise*.

of *Charles the Great*, and consequently it has a Pretence to the Crown of *France*, which is foreclosed by nothing but the too great Antiquity of the Claim, and the Weakness of that Family. *Henry the III^d*. the then King of *France*, was become the last of the House of *Valoise*, and thought unfit for Generation; and upon his Death, the Crown of this Kingdom was to devolve to *Henry* King of *Navarre*, who was the Head of the Protestant Party; and all the Family was in the same Interest, but the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who was a very old Gentleman; so that if things were suffered to go quietly on, the Death of *Henry III.* would put the Protestants of *France* in Possession of the Throne in the Person of *Henry IV.* This was the true ground of that dreadful Revolution, which shook the Foundations of the *French* Monarchy and Nation. They considered, that if a Protestant Prince was once quietly settled in the Throne, nothing but a Miracle could preserve the *Roman-Catholick* Religion in *France*; and they durst not trust an Event to the Providence of God, and the Reasons and Consciences of men, which in all probability would
put

put an end to the *Romish* Religion in *France*, and so weaken it in all the rest of *Europe*, that it would never be in a condition to make use of Force more, against those that had forsaken it ; so the Design was laid between the King of *Spain*, the Pope, and the Duke of *Guise*, That *Henry* the III^d. should be Deposed, and turned into a Monastery, as *Chilperick* was ; and *Henry* the IVth. should be excluded as an Heretick relapsed, and Excommunicated, and a new King of *France* should be chosen ; and then each of these Heads of this League hoped to make their own Market in the end. *Henry* the III^d. saw all this, and to save himself, in the year 1588. called an Assembly of the Three Estates of *France* at *Bloise* ; but finding the greater part of his Subjects, by the procurement of the Popish Clergy, inclined to join with the Duke of *Guise* against him, he ordered *Henry* Duke of *Guise*, and *Charles* his Brother, Cardinal of *Lorain*, to be both Assassinated by his Guards ; and secured many of their Friends ; but the Duke of *Maine*, another of the Brothers of the Duke of *Guise*, escaped the slaughter, and thereupon almost the whole Kingdom of *France*

The Reasons why *Hen. III.* was to be Deposed, and *Henry IV.* Excluded.

Henry III.
slain.

France revolted, and took up Arms against him under the Duke of *Maine*; so that he had no way to save his own Life and Crown, but to call *Henry* King of *Navarre*, and his Protestant Subjects, to his Assistance against these his enraged Catholick Subjects, who were now become his implacable enemies. Being thus in a condition to have forced *Paris*, and to have driven the Conspirators out of *France*, one *James Clement*, a *Dominican* Monk, stabbed him the first of *August* in his Tent, under the Walls of *Paris*. The House of *Valoise* thus failing in him, when it had enjoyed the Crown of *France* Two hundred and sixty Years, the Right of it fell to *Henry* King of *Navarre*, of the House of *Bourbon*; but he was suspected by all his Popish Subjects, stoutly resisted by all that were in the League against his Predecessor, and Excommunicated by the Pope, and sorely laid at by the King of *Spain*, who dreaded nothing so much as the seeing *France* in the hand of a Valiant, Wise, Protestant Prince, now his *Invincible Armado* was returned back from *England* with Shame, Ignominy, and Contempt, and such a Loss as *Spain* was never able since to recover. The

The Queen-Mother of *France*, who had been the principal Incendiary, when she saw the Duke of *Guise* fall in the Assembly of *Bloise*, and her only Son in the utmost danger of being Murdered or Deposed, she died with the mere apprehension of the Calamities she had brought upon her own head and Family, before her Son was slain. And as for *Henry* the IVth. the new King of *France*, he saw things in that Disorder and Confusion, that he was forced to raise his Camp, and retreat from *Paris* into *Normandy*, from whence he sent to Queen *Elizabeth* for Succors of Men, Money, and Ammunition. The Queen presently sent *Peregrine* Lord *Willoughby*, who had signalized his Valour in the *Netherlands*, with Four thousand Men, and Two and twenty thousand Pounds of *English* Money in Gold, which was a Sum which *Henry* the IVth. owned he had never before seen together in Gold at once. *Henry* had beat the Leaguers before these men arrived, contrary to the expectation of all the World; and being thus reinforced from *England*, he pursued his Victory to the Gates of *Paris*, and was in a fair way to have taken

The Queen
Mother of
France di-
eth of Grief.

Queen *Eliza-
beth* assists
Henry IV.
with Men
and Money.

the City, but that he did not think it possible, and he was besides unwilling to run the hazard of seeing the Capital City of *France* plundered by his own Army. This tenderness of his at length brought him under the necessity of changing his Religion, to gain the Crown of *France*.

The Spaniards invade
Britagne, a
Province of
France.

In the year 1590. the King of *Spain* sent Forces to take possession of *Bretagne*, a Province of *France*, pretending a Title to it for himself; and some of the *English* Courtiers advised Queen *Elizabeth* not to concern her self any farther in the Affairs of that Kingdom, to her great impoverishing, and no advantage, telling her, *Charles* the Bold, Duke of *Burgundy*, used to say, *It would be better for all the Neighbour Nations to have France under Twenty Kings than One*: To which she as stoutly replied, *The Evening of the last Day the Crown of France should see, would be fatal to England*. And the next year she sent a Fleet, and Three thousand Land-men to secure that Province out of the hands of the Spaniards. This small Number of men being commanded by Sir *John Norris*, a person of great Experience
and

Q *Elizabeth*
assists the
French against
these Spaniards.

and Conduct, preserved that Province not only from the Dominion, but in a good degree also from the Rapines and Cruelties of the *Spaniards*. She spent in Three years in these *French* Affairs, (besides the Gold she sent to *Henry* the IVth. into *Normandy*), 226058 Crowns of *French* Money; yet she did not burthen her Subjects to pay it, but got it together by her Thrifty Management.

This *Queen* was wholly intent upon the humbling the Pride of *Spain*; and at the same time she opposed his Greatness, and curb'd his Ambitious Designs in *France* and the *Netherlands*, she sent a potent Fleet, and an Army into *Spain*, in the year 1589, to revenge the Invasion of the preceeding year, and to settle *Anthony* a Bastard in the Kingdom of *Portugal*, which was then in the Possession of *Philip* the II^d. King of *Spain*: The Army consisted of Eleven thousand Men, and there went in the Fleet Fifteen hundred Sea-men: The Army was commanded by Sir *John Norris*, and the Fleet by Sir *Francis Drake*; They first landed at the *Groyne* in *Gallia* without any Opposition; and the

Spain invaded by the *English*.

They take the *Groyne*.

*Robert Earl of
Essex* stole a-
way from the
Court, and
served as a
Volunteer in
this Expedition.

next day they took the Lower-Town by *Scalado*, but not without the loss of a great many men: And here they found a vast Magazine of Gunpowder and Maritime Stores, which was brought hither for another Expedition against *England*. In this Expedition *Robert Earl of Essex* gave proofs of his Martial Inclinations, for he stole away from Court without the Queen's Leave, she being unwilling to venture any of her principal Nobility in so dangerous an Undertaking as this seemed then to be; but this brisk young Gentleman, on the contrary, despising the soft Pleasures of a Court, greedily embraced this opportunity of Revenging the Wrongs of his Countrey, and set Sail after the Fleet in a single Ship, and he had the good fortune to fall into the *English* Fleet, after they had left the *Groynes*, and were going to attack *Lisbon*, wherein they had not the same success, by reason their Forces were too small, and the Fleet was kept at too great a distance to relieve the Army, which was forced to march about Sixty Miles by Land; but however, they took the Towns of *Paniche* and *Chascas*, and brought out of *Spain* One hundred

hundred Great Guns, and about Sixty Ships, sent by the *Hanse* Towns in *Germany*, loaded with Corn, which went round about *Scotland* and *Ireland*, by the *Vergivian* Ocean, to avoid being intercepted by the *English*, the Queen having before warned those Cities, That if they sent any Provisions or Ammunition into *Spain*, she would treat them as Enemies. Besides all these, they brought back with them a very rich Prey in Householdstuff, Money, and Plate, which they gathered in that Kingdom; but the most considerable advantage, was the intercepting all the Stores which had been gathered for a second Expedition against *England*, (the Design of which was after this laid aside), and the discovering the Weakness of the *Spaniards* when they were set upon at their own doors; so that after this time the *English* despised this before so formidable Enemy, they having with so small an Army marched so many Miles, and taken so many places in two of the best peopled Provinces of that Kingdom.

In the year 1591. Robert Earl of *Essex* was sent into *Normandy* with Four

The Actions
of Robert Earl
of Essex.

The second
Expedition
into Spain.

Cádiz taken
by the English.

thousand *English*, to Assist *Henry* the IVth. in the Reduction of *Roan*; where before that City he lost his Brother *Walter*, who was slain by a *Musquet*: This was so far from terrifying this Noble Earl, that it was with wonder observed by the *French*, that he exposed his own person the more freely, that he might take all opportunities to revenge his Death. After this, in the year 1596. the Queen sent him her General again into *Spain*; the Fleet which consisted of One hundred and fifty Ships, (being partly *English*, and partly *Dutch*) was commanded by *Charles* Lord *Howard*, Admiral of *England*; and the Land-Forces, which were about Seven thousand and three hundred men, were to be commanded by *Essex* and *Howard*, as Joynt-Generals, *Essex* having the Precedence on Shore, and *Howard* at Sea: They came before *Cádiz* the 20th. of *June*, but did not attempt to Land while the 22^d. and then they took the Town on the first Assault by the Cowardise of the *Spaniards*, which paid Five hundred and twenty thousand Ducats for its Ransom. There was Two Millions more offered for the Redemption of the Ships in *Port Real*, but

but it was refused by the Admiral, he saying, He was sent to Burn, and not to Ransom the *Spanish* Navies. The *Spaniards* confess they lost in the Sack of this Town, in Ships Taken and Burnt, in Canon Taken and Sunk, and in Stores, and Ammunition, and Victuals, above Twenty Millions of Ducats. The Magnanimous *Earl of Essex* was for keeping the Town and Island, and he offered to do it with Three hundred men, and Three Months Provision for them; but the rest of the Commanders who had enriched themselves, were for returning, and so he was forced to return much against his will, the 5th. of *July*, when he had got little but a Noble Library, which he chose out of that Rich Spoil. The *Spaniards* observed, 'The *English* in this Sack 'shewed themselves to be Hereticks by 'their Contempt of their Religious 'Houses and Places; but in all other 'things they behaved themselves with 'great Valour, Prudence, and Generosity. The Noble Earl would fain in his return have attempted the *Groyne*, *St. Andreo*, and *St. Sebastian*, but the rest of the Commanders were against making any other Trial of their Fortune,

The loss the
Spaniard sustained

tune, believing they had done enough for the Glory and Safety of their Countrey. This Expedition secured *England* for the Remainder of her Reign against all the Attempts and Fears of *Spain*. In the year 1599. this Earl was made Deputy of *Ireland*, which proved his Ruin, Sir *Robert Cecil* in his Absence being made Master of the *Wards*, tho the Queen had promised him that Office, and he depended upon it as that which was to repair his Estate, shattered in her Service; whereupon he came back without her Leave, and the next year after was beheaded for Attempting to Raise an Insurrection in *London* against the Court.

The Affairs
of *Ireland* in
her time.

To pass from these Foreign Affairs to others that were of nearer concern to *England*; there was in all her days a Destructive and most Chargeable War continued against her in *Ireland*. The *Irish* Nation have ever since it was subdued by the *English*, born an implacable hatred to the Conquerors, which neither Marriages, nor Benefits, nor Losses, nor Time it self has been able to extinguish: But when in her time the Religion of *England* was changed, and the

the general Body of the *Irish*, and a great part of the old *English* Families persisted in the Popish Religion; there was by that means a new Ferment added to their restless and unquiet spirits; so that there was nothing to be heard of from thence, but frequent and perfidious Rebellions, which were the more dangerous and lasting, because they were excited by the Pope's Bulls, whom the *Irish* reverence above all other Nations; and supported and carried on by *Spanish* Counsels, Money, and Forces: Yet however, the *Queen* did never think it her Interest to make a sharp and a concluding War upon them, because this was not possible to be done, without being grievous to her People of *England*, whilst she was forced to spend such prodigious Sums of Money in the *Netherlands*, and *France*, as would have made an effectual War in *Ireland* insupportable. She took care in the mean time to send over thither the Best and Wisest of her States men and Sword-men, as her *Deputy-Lieutenants*; and she sent them such Supplies of Men and Moneys as enabled them from time to time to keep the *English* Pale in good order, and to hinder the *Spanish* Party from

from growing more Potent in the *North*, than was convenient to consume his Forces, and divert him from nearer and more dangerous Attempts; and by her Generals and the Forces she sent over, she wasted and consumed the Forces of the *CLANS* and great *Irish* Lords, and by degrees brought the Wild and Barbarous *Irish* from the former way of living more like Beasts than Men, in Woods and Mountains, to the living in Populous and well-govern'd Towns and Villages. She taught them to leave off their barbarous cruel Customs, and to live soberly and according to Law; to forsake their wild ways of Diet and Cloathing, and live more Civilly, and like the *English*. The *Northern* Province of *Ulster* was the first that Rebelled, the *Scots* and the *Islanders* in great Numbers pouring into that Province; whereupon *Shan O Neale* in the year 1563. took up Arms against his Sovereign, instead of sending to her for Assistance to drive out these Foreign Enemies: He was first Reduced by the Earl of *Sussex*, and forced to come into *England* to beg Pardon of the Queen: The next year he broke out again, and was reduced by
Sir

Ulster the first
Provincethat
Rebelled a-
gainst her.

Sir *Henry Sidney*, Lord Deputy; and in 1565. he perished in a drunken Fray by the *Macdonnells*, to whom he fled for Succour and Refuge. This *Shan O Neale* was so wicked and debauched a Villain in all his Actions, that all men approved of the Revenge *Macdonnell* took of so false and perfidious a man, that had done many Wrongs to them and their Families, as well as to the *Englisb*. The *Macdonnells* were *Scots*, and of the number of the *Islanders* that had settled in this Province of *Ulster*. This Execution hapned the 2d. of *June*, 1567. Mr. *Cox* writes their Names, *MACCONEL*.

In the year 1564. there hapned a Quarrel between the Earls of *Ormond* and *Desmond*, which came to a Battel between them at *Affane*, in the County of *Waterford*. The next year they went over into *England* together to implead each other before the Queen, who of the two was most inclined to favour *Desmond*. In 1566. they returned, and *Desmond* took the Field with Two thousand men to join *Shan O Neale*, as was pretended, but in truth to Revenge his Quarrels on the Earl of *Ormond*, who defeated him and

A Quarrel
between Or-
mond and Des-
mond.

and all his Forces near *Drumelin*; and in the close of that year the Lord Deputy *Sidney* took *Desmond* Prisoner, and at *Limerick* tried him for High-Treason, and he was found Guilty, and committed to Prison, and his Brother *John* was Knighted, and made Earl of *Desmond*. This Quarrel was at first a personal private Feud between these Two Potent Families; but in the year 1568. some Laws having passed in a Parliament, which displeased the Great Men, they took up the pretence of Religion to draw in the People; and the Pope entred into it, and the King of *Spain* was solicited to send Forces by the Earl of *Desmond*'s younger Brother, Titular Bishop of *Cashil*: Thereupon the Lord Deputy began the War this very year, and defeated Two thousand of their men near *Kilkenny*, with the loss of one single man. The Earl of *Ormond* was then in *England*, and went into *Ireland* to reclaim his own Brothers, who joined with *Desmond* in this Revolt, which was designed to subvert the Government, and clear the Countrey of all English Men, and English Laws.

In the year 1569. Pope *Pius Quintus* Excommunicated the Queen, and deprived her of all her Dominions; and this had such effect upon *Ireland*, that there was no quiet to be looked for in that Kingdom to the end of her days: But yet by the year 1571. Sir *John Perrot*, Governor of *Munster*, brought that Province into Peace. The King of *Spain* was slow in meddling with the *Irish* Affairs, and sent them little or no Supplies till the year 1578. which was Ten years after they began to treat with him for his Assistance. This year one *Stukely* an *English*-man was sent by *Gregory XIII.* Pope of *Rome*, and the King of *Spain*, with Eight hundred *Italian* Soldiers; but he went with *Sebastian* King of *Portugal*, into *Africa*, where he and his men perished with that King.

The Pope and King of *Spain* interested in the *Irish* War.

In 1578. Sir *William Drury* was sworn Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, the 14th. of *September*. The same year *James Fitz Morris* after he had Sworn Allegiance to the Queen before Sir *John Perrot*, went into *France*, and failing of any Supplies, from thence he went into *Spain*, where he obtained a few Men,

Fitz-Morris and *Sanders* invade *Ireland* with *Spaniards*.

Men, and some Money; and in *July*, 1579. he landed Eighty *Spaniards* at *Semerwick* in *Kerry*, where he built a Fort, and *Sanders* the Pope's Legate Consecrated the ground; but the *English* took the three Ships for all that, and put the *Spaniards* into a wonderful fright: The *Desmonds* joined with these Rebels, and soon after, a great many of the old *English*, who persisted in the *Roman-Catholick* Religion; which was in a great degree owing to the smallness of the *English* Forces in *Ireland*, the Army being then but about Six hundred men. Sir *William Drury* sickned and died; and Sir *William Pelham* was chosen in his Place by the Council, and Sworn the 11th. of *October*, 1579. who was succeeded by

Arthur Lord Grey, Baron of Wilton, Sworn the 14th. of *September*, 1580. He took the Fort above-mentioned, and put all the *Spaniards* to the Sword, which much displeased the Queen, tho the Deputy alledged, That he could not keep them his Prisoners, the Army was so small, and the Numbers of his Enemies were so great. The Deputy went on with small Forces, and an Invincible

vincible Resolution and Industry, defeating and reducing them so often and so strangely, that at last they got him represented to the Queen, *as a Bloody man that regarded not the Lives of the Subjects any more than the lives of Dogs, but had Tyrannized with that Barbarity, that there was little left for the Queen to reign over, but Carcasses and Ashes.* The Necessity of the Times had indeed made him severe; but he had shewed much more Mercy to the *Irish* than either they deserved, or was consistent with the Queen's Interest, or the Safety of the *English* that were in *Ireland*; however in the midst of his Victories he was re-called in *August* 1582. The next year the miserable Earl of *Desmond* was taken in a Cabin in a *Wood*, and slain unknown by an *Irish* man, and his Head sent over into *England*, and set on *London-Bridge*: His Name was *Girald*, and he was the Fifteenth Earl of that Family; and with his Life ended this Rebellion in *Munster*. The Queen was however a Lady of that Generous Mercy and Compassion, that she was heartily concerned for the Bloods of these miserable Wretches who sought hers, and her Protestant Sub-

The Deputy
for his good
Service, slandered in *England*.

Subjects Ruin with an Hellish and Implacable fury.

The difficulty of Administering Justice and Mercy seasonably.

The distributing Mercy and Justice with Prudence, is the hardest Task a Prince has; and in truth there is none but God that can pretend to do it always well; because he alone knows both the truth of all mens actions, the ends and designs of them, and the tempers of the Agents as to the present and the future: But Princes are often deceived in one or more of these, and so spare or punish, when they should not: Besides, they are subject to the same Passions other men are, and by them they are misled when the thing is plain. It is better, generally speaking, to be too Merciful, than too severe: But when it is known once that a man will be so, it ruins more than it can save; and too much, exposeth the Innocent. Mercy to Multitudes and mean people is always seasonable, and the contrary destructive; but to pardon Great men for two, three, or four Rebellions one after another, is to proclaim a liberty of doing it impunedly. She was never guilty of this in *England*, but in *Ireland* it was frequently done, and therefore it

it was her own fault that she met with so much trouble; and all her Mercy almost was thrown away, and proved Cruelty to the *English*. Pardon a barbarous Enemy, and you make him insolent; and therefore inexorable Justice, especially upon a relapse, is absolutely necessary; but then this is to be understood only of great Men and of great Crimes, such as *Murder* and *Rebellion*.

In the year 1584. June 26. Sir John Perrot was made Lord Deputy of Ireland. He was sent thither in unquiet and dangerous times; and he managed Affairs with so much Industry and Courage, that he saved *Ireland*, tho he himself fell a Sacrifice to the Malice of *Hatton*, the Lord Chancellor of *England*. In his time the Queen gave to several Adventurers, of the Lands forfeited by *Desmond* and his Accomplices, 574628 Acres. The Proprietors were to People the same, and to pay the Queen over and besides, 1976 *l.* 7 *s.* 5 *d.* the year, Quit-Rent. To this end she invited the younger Brothers of the *English* Nation to settle in *Ireland*, promising them great Privileges, and

Sir John Perrot, Lord Deputy of Ireland.

New Colonies of *English* sent into *Munster*.

Q

Land

Land at reasonable Rents. The *Burks* in *Connaught* hereupon rebelled, but were overthrown; Seven of Three thousand scaping. Thus things were again reduced into a tolerable good order; and the dispeopled Province of *Munster* was at once Peopled and Civilized by the *English*; but the Deputy had no share in it, but it was managed by a Committee; for he was on ill terms with the Queen, upon the account of some indiscreet passionate words he had dropped; and which were by the Malice of his Enemies told the Queen, with many invidious Additions.

The *Irish*
complain of
the *English*.

The Queen had ordered, *That if any unforfeited Lands were intermixed with those that were forfeited, that the Proprietor should be compounded with to his content, and be bought out, that so the Undertakers might have his Mannor intire.* But when this came to be put in practice, there was great and loud Complaints brought to the Deputy, *That the Adventurers had unjustly outed many innocent men of their Inheritances, out of covetousness to get their Estates: Whereupon a Proclamation was issued out, Commanding the*

the Proprietors to restore what they had unjustly taken; which with the favour the Deputy shewed to the Ejected *Irish* by the Queen's Order, put a stop to the Wrong and the Complaints. As he had had no hand in the distribution of these Lands, so he soon made the Adventurers sensible they were to expect no favour from him; which turned to the advantage of the *Irish*, but occasioned bitter Complaints from the *English* against the Deputy, as a Favourer of the *Irish* rather than of the *English*: But this Great Man, who was of a Regal Spirit, (and is supposed to have been a Bastard Son of *Henry* the VIIIth.), despised too much the Complaints of his Countrey-men, and forced the greatest of the *English* to fly before his Authority; and as for the *Irish*, he made them better than they would otherwise have been both by his Threats and Severity, and by his good Advices; and by the strength of his Reason he made them understand how much it was for their good to continue firm in their Allegiance to the Queen. This was an hard Task, considering the Capacity and Temper both of the People he was to deal with, and

The *English* complain of the Lord Deputy.

The Character of of the Times in which he governed Ireland.

Fitz-Williams
Character.

In the year 1588. Sir *William Fitz-Williams* was made *Lord Deputy of Ireland*, and continued till the 11th. of *August*, 1594. He was a Covetous, Unjust man, and laid the Foundations of a great many Troubles to the *English* in after times; but in all his, *Ireland* was tolerably quiet, till towards the latter end of his Government; only the *Irish* took up an Aversion for the *English Government and Sheriffs*, by his means; and *Tyrone* having Six Companies allowed him under the *Queen's Pay*, he changed his men so often, that the whole Countrey became Disciplined men; and he got great quantities of Lead into his Possession, under pretence of building a fine House. In the year 1593. the College of *Dublin* was finished at the *Queen's Charges*, and *Burleigh* was the first Chancellor, and *Usher* the first Scholar in it.

The College
of *Dublin* fi-
nished.

The *English*
Colonies
keep *Ireland*
quiet a while.

That which made *Ireland* so quiet under *Fitz-Williams*, was the Justice, Prudence, and Valour of his Predecessor,

cessor, Sir *John Perrot*, which had broken the Power of the Heads of the *Irish Clans*, and so well Civilized and Planted that Kingdom with *English Colonies* and Garisons, that during these Six years there was but Eight hundred Foot, and Three hundred Horse maintained, to keep the Natives in quiet. The *Irish* were also so well settled in their Lands, Estates and Cattel, that it was no mans Interest to make any Disturbance: And there was no Foreign Prince that could be brought to join with them, or lend them any Assistance. The *Spanish Armada* in the latter end of the year 1588. lost Seventeen of its Ships upon the *Northern and Western Shores* of this Kingdom, and 5394 of the men in it perished; and tho some of the *Popish Natives* sheltered some of them, yet they all robbed them of their Treasures, and got what they had for it: And King *James* of *Scotland* looked upon himself as the Presumptive Heir of this Kingdom after the Queen, and kept a fair Correspondence with the *English*, and restrained the *Scots* and *Islanders* from joining with the *Irish*. There was a Rumor in *England*, That

Part of the
Spanish Armada
shipwrecked
on the
Coast of Ire-
land.

The Character of

there was a vast Treasure found in the *Spanish* Ships which perished in *Connaught*, and *Ulster* : And *Fitz-Williams* the *Lord Deputy* made a severe search after it, commanding by a Proclamation all the *Spanish* Treasures to be brought into the Exchequer for the Queen's use ; and he imprisoned Sir *Owen O Toole*, and Sir *John O Dogherty*, two of the greatest men in the *North*, in the Castle of *Dublin*, on this pretence, tho they were the best affected to the *English*, of any of the Inhabitants ; but he could discover nothing, tho he kept the first Two years in Restraint, and the latter all his time, who was discharged by his Successor, and died soon after, being much decayed by the Hardships of a long Imprisonment, and Old Age. But all these ill things done under *Fitz Williams*, made work for them that followed him.

Hugh Roe
wrongfully
murdered by
the Deputy.

Upon the Death of *Mac Mahon*, who was one of the Heads of an *Irish* Clan, and had not long before taken a Patent from the Queen for the County of *Monaghan*, to him and his Heirs Male for ever ; *Hugh Roe* his Brother and Heir, Petitioned the Deputy to be settled in his Inhe-

Inheritance, according to the Queen's Patent, and the Laws of the Kingdom; and the *Irish* say it cost him Six hundred Cows to have a Promise of it. And then the Deputy only said he would go in person to do it: But as soon as he came to *Monaghan*, he Imprisoned, Tried, and Condemned *Hugh Roe*, by Military Law, and without any Legal Trial; pretending he had Levied Forces two years before, to distress for Rent he pretended was due to him in the *Ferny*. Hereupon he was hanged, and the County was divided between Sir *Henry Bagnal*, Marshal, Captain *Henslow*, and four of the *Mac Mahons*, under a Yearly Rent; each of these giving the Deputy considerable Bribes, as they said in their Complaint to the Council of *England*. The Deputy denied all this; but it was observed, That from thenceforward the *Irish* loathed *Sheriffs*, and the Neighbourhood of the *English*, fearing the same fate might at one time or other attend them, that had befallen *Hugh Roe*. The Report of this Villany spread it self all over *Ulster*; and the Heads of the *Clans* were greatly terrified and incensed at it, and had

The Character of

close *Cabals*, wherein they severely taxed the ill Management, Covetousness, and Cruelty of the Deputy.

The Rise of
Hugh O Neale,
Earl of Ty-
rone.

He aspires to
be King of
Ulster.

There was then in *Ulster* a Great Man, called *Hugh O Neale*, the Son of one *Mathew* a Smith, a Cunning and a Crafty man; who from his youth had served the Queen in the Wars: In *Desmond's* Rebellion he had done the Queen good Service, and got much Reputation both for his Courage and Industry: The Queen on the other side protected this poor obscure Gentleman against the Malice of the *O Neals*, who hated him as the Enemy to their Nation; and she advanced him from an abject and mean Condition, to great Honour, and made him Earl of *Tyrene*, for his Merits and Deserts. He became intoxicated with his too good fortune, and ungratefully and madly design'd to ruin her that had made him what he was; and now nothing would serve him, but he would needs be King of *Ulster*; and to that end he assumed the Title of *O Neale*, and cast off all Respect and Allegiance for the Queen. He disciplined the rude and ignorant *Kerns* after the *English* manner, under the pretence

tence I have before recited ; and in the mean time under hand instilled into them an invincible hatred of the *English* Religion and Government, calling the first Heresy, and the latter a shameful *Slavery* and Servitude ; by which he disposed them so well to a Rebellion, that almost the whole Nation revolted at once from the Queen.

In July 1591. *Tyrone* was made a County, and divided into Eight *Baronies*, *Dungannon* being appointed for the Shire-Town ; which with the Authority of *Marshal Bagnal*, so fretted *Tyrone*, that it's believed it occasioned his Confederating this Summer underhand with the rest of the *Irish* to defend their pretended Rights, and not to admit Sheriffs into their Counties. The effects of this first appeared in the year 1593. when *O Connor* became troublesome in *Connaught*, and *O Donnel* and *Mac Guire*, chief of *Fermanagh*, rose in *Ulster* against the Sheriffs, and would have murdered them, but that *Tyrone* pretended to intercede to have their lives spared: This they durst never have done, but that they knew all the *Clans* in *Ulster* would second them.

The

Tyrone made a County ; which occasioned *O Neal's* Rebellion.

The Character of

The Deputy, to revenge this Insurrection, proclaimed *Mac Guire* a Traytor, and invading *Fermanagh* he took *Inniskilling*; but upon his withdrawing, the *Irish* returned and drove the *English* he had left, out of *Fermanagh*. During this Tumult, *Tyrone* came thither, as by chance, and asking what the matter was, and what had provoked their Anger against the *English*, he gravely reprehended *Mac Guire*, the Beginner of the Insurrection, and then began seemingly to appease the exasperated meaner *Irish* people, tho in truth he was the first Promoter of all this Disturbance, and did this only to conceal himself, and avoid being suspected by the *English*. Hereupon the Queen recalled *Fitz-William*, who had never been a Soldier, and sent a new Deputy in his stead.

Sir *William Ruffel* made Lord Deputy of Ireland, under whom O'Neal broke into a Rebellion.

Sir *William Ruffel*, youngest Son of *Francis Earl of Bedford*, was sworn Lord Deputy of Ireland the 11th. of August, 1594. Under him this great Revolution hapned. *Cormock Mac Barron*, *Tyrone's* Brother, about the same time Besieged *Inniskilling*, and defeated 46 *English* Horse, and 600 Foot, that came

came to Relieve it, under the Conduct of Sir *Edward Herbert*, and Sir *Henry Duke*; yet *Tyrone* had the Impudence to come to *Dublin*, and impose upon the Council, That he had no hand in this Insurrection, tho some offered to prove him a Traytor, which was not then believed. In *March*, 1595. he broke into a second open Rebellion, notwithstanding all his Oaths and Asseverations, which in an *Irish* man are the certain tokens of Treachery and Falshood. *Bagnal*, his mortal Enemy, thereupon marched against him with 1500 Foot, and 250 *English* Horse; and *Tyrone* appeared with 1500 *Irish* Horse, but retired without attempting any thing; but soon after he appeared with 8000 Foot to second his Horse: Yet this handful of men fought all his Forces, and came off with good Success, tho they were in great danger of being destroyed, as they had been if the Enemies Powder had not failed in the Action.

In *June*, 1595. Sir *John Norris* arrived with Two thousand Veterane Soldiers, and One thousand New-raised men, and with the Title of Lord General

Sir *John Norris* sent into *Ireland* with 3000 men.

The Character of this Great Man.

neral of the Forces in *Ulster*, he being to command absolutely in the absence of the Deputy. The Queen's Design in sending *Norris* with this large Commission was, that he and the Deputy should act with the greater vigor against the Enemy: But then tho *Norris* was an excellent Commander, he was a little too violent, and disdained to be subject to the Orders of the Deputy; and which was yet worse, disagreed with him in the general method of managing the War, and was very stiff in his opinion besides; so that much time was spent in useless Contests between these two high-spirited men, which very much prejudiced the Queen's Affairs, and secured *Tyrone*, (who cunningly made use of it) from being suppressed in the beginning of his Rebellion.

The *Irish* become very expert in the use of Arms.

By this time the Rebels had taken several of the *English* Forts, and were become so expert in the use of Arms, that they were almost a Match for the *English*. Sir *John Perrot* to save charges, had armed the *Irish* in *Ulster*, against the *Islander Scots*, and taught them the use of Fire-Arms; and *Fitz-Williams* had

had pursued the same false Measures, and had taken many *Irish* into the *English* Army, and sent others of them into the Low-Countries to be bred Soldiers; and now they were become stout Rebels, to the damage of the *English*.

The Deputy having in the mean time spent the Summer in the Field against the Enemy, took care to settle *Connaught* and *Leinster* in the Winter, and finding them much disordered by the Injuries of the Presidents, he heard their Complaints very patiently, and redressed what he found amiss, with much Justice, that he might raise in the people an expectation and hopes of better times to come. And he also levied more Forces, and invited *Tyrone* to come to him to *Dublin*, and sent him a Passport: The Earl came accordingly, being tossed between hopes and fears; and there the Deputy before many of the Nobility of that Kingdom, represented to him the Benefits he had received at the Queen's hands; which he readily acknowledged; pretending, *That he had on that consideration patiently born the Injuries of Fitz-Williams Government, and the Wrongs done him by Bagnal the Marshal: That*

*Tyrone's Pre-
ferences to the
Deputy.*

he

he had saved the English from the Fury of Mac Guire, and preserved them in the possession of Fermanagh: That his good Actions had been misrepresented, and he had been ill rewarded for them: That he desired nothing more, than to be restored to the Queen's Favour, which he had been deprived of by the slanders of his Enemies. This cunning Defence appeased the Deputy; and he was resolved to try if he could reclaim him by favours and good usage; and so he permitted him to return home again. Yet in September of this year he offered the King of Spain the Kingdom of Ireland, if he would supply him with 3000 Men, and a little Treasure. Thus were the Winter of this year, and the Spring of the next, spent in needless and ineffectual Treaties, Tyrone pretending to submit, to gain time; and at last he was Pardoned; but Three Ships arriving from Spain with Powder and 200 men, he refused his Pardon a great while, and when he took it, he used it as a cover for his Treasonable Designs. He was always Treating and Rebelling at the same time; and finding a Discontent between Sir John Norris and the Lord Depnty, he made use of the one against

against the other, and in the mean time surprized the Garisons, and embroiled the Countrey, to the great hazard of Extirpating the *English*. A Treaty with a perfidious man tends to nothing but to make him insolent, and the Government secure to its Ruin: If you never trust him, he can never hurt you. The *English* Council was so weary of these Chargeable Wars, that they dreaded nothing more than a War in *Ireland*: So that it was then a Maxim here, *That it were well for England, if Ireland could be sunk into the bottom of the Ocean*; but since that was not possible to be done, it had been well if they had gone roundly to work, and sending competent Forces, had pursued these counterfeiting Rebels to utter destruction, not suffering any *Irish-man* to have any Fire-Arms.

The *Deputy* observing that *Tyrone* slighted him, and made his applications to *Norris*, to whom he sent Messengers to commemorate his Loyalty and Duty to the Queen, and to beg her Majesties Pardon; he thereupon wrote to the Queen, That he had not been used to Wars, and was unacquainted with
the

The Deputy
offended
with *Tyrone*.

the Fatigues that attended Insurrections and Tumults: That King *Philip* of *Macedonia* was less terrible to him than a desultory Enemy, and a barbarous *Irish Teague*: That this languid Sedition might be composed without wounds or bloodshed, as some thought, if good men were but sent to treat with the Rebels: That there were those in *Ireland* who had conferred with the Rebels, and had sent into *England* the Rebels Defamations against him and others of her Governors: By which passage the Deputy sily taxed Sir *John Norris* as one that had done nothing worthy of his former Military Reputation, but thought to work upon the good nature of the *Ulster* Clowns by his Courtship and Flattery; which tended rather to the making them more insolent. This carriage of the General's was the occasion of fierce Contests and Quarrels between him and the Deputy, and the effect of it was, that not only the Heads of the *Clans* in *Ulster*, but those also in *Connaght* and *Leinster*, took Arms and revolted from the Crown of *England*. The Deputy seeing things by their Divisions brought to so desperate an estate, resolved to get rid of

of the Government, and by his Letters humbly besought the Queen a good General might be sent in his place. In this doubtful time, Sir *John Norris* as earnestly desired to be Deputy, and that his Brother, who was fitter for the Labours of the War, might be made President of *Munster*. But he obtained neither of his Requests. The Council of *England* was divided for some time between the Lord *Burroughs* and the Earl of *Essex*, but the latter joining with the former, it was carried for him, and he had both the Supreme Civil and Military Power put into his hands.

The 15th. of May, 1597. *Thomas* The Lord
Lord Burroughs arrived at *Dublin*, with *Burroughs*
 a Commission to be Lord Deputy of *Ireland*: *made Deputy*
 With the Supreme Authority of *Ireland*.
 ty, he presently commanded *Norris* to
 his Presidency of *Munster*, which with
 the disappointment of the Deputy's
 Place, broke his heart. *Johnstonius*
 saith, The reason of this was, because
Norris was a person of more Experience
 in the War, and of greater Fame
 than *Burroughs*. So that when he came
 to *Dublin*, *Norris* was no way pleased
 R with

with the change, for that he dreaded the fiery Temper of that Lord, with whom he had formerly had some quarrels, which he would now have willingly sacrificed to the Welfare of his Countrey. But the Deputy was of an Implacable Temper, and commanded him into *Munster*, upon the peril of his life, not permitting *Norris* to see him: This Great and Stout Man could not bear the Affront; but he that had run through so many Perils in the Field, in the *Netherlands*, *France*, and *Portugal*; he that had despised the Rages of the Duke d' *Alva* in *Holland*, and put a stop to the Victories of the Duke of *Parma*, fell under this, and expired in the Arms of his Brother. Thus he became a wonderful Instance of humane frailty, as well as of Martial Courage; being rather pitied than approved; because his Management in *Ireland* was much inferior to what he had done elsewhere, and short of what was expected from him. The Lord Lieutenant died in *November* following; yet in that short time he beat the *Irish* in *Ulster*, and recovered the Fort of *Blackwater*, and Garison'd it with *English*. Sir *Thomas Norris* was nominated

minated for his Successor, but he was melancholy, and would not accept it ; his Brother the General being just then dead also : Thereupon the *Archbishop of Dublin*, and Sir Robert Gardiner, Lord Chief Justice, were sworn the 15th of November, when the Council concluded their Account of the State of the Kingdom, *That it was an universal Irish Rebellion to shake off all English Government.* In August this year Tyrone had the good fortune to rout Marshal Bagnal his mortal Enemy, in a Wood half a mile beyond *Armagh*, where the Marshal, 13 Captains, and 1500 *English* Soldiers were slain. The *Irish* by this Defeat got Arms, Victual, Ammunition, and Reputation, and the Fort of *Blackwater* ; so that the *English* were reduced from an Offensive to a Defensive War. This nettled the Queen, and she sent to Ormond, who was Lieutenant-General, to clear the Army of all the *Irish*, and she sent 2000 Foot and 100 Horse to recruit the Army. Tyrone sent after this 4000 *Kerns* into *Munster*, and the President not being able to resist them, by reason his Forces were small, that whole Province rebelled also in *October*, 1598. and began

The Council of Ireland represent the *Irish* War as an universal Rebellion of that whole Nation.

Tyrone beat the *English*.

And at the
same time
treats with
England and
Spain.

The Earl of
Essex sent De-
puty.

to Kill, Rob, and Ravage the *English*, without Measure or Mercy. Thus the Rebellion grew to that height, that it became terrible to the Queen. *Tyrone* in the mean time sent submissive Letters to the Earl of *Ormond*, and promised the *Spaniards* that he would accept no Conditions from the *English*, magnifying his Victories beyond all reason and truth: So that now the Courtiers in *England* began to consider, as Mr. *Cambden* observes, That by long use it was grown to a destructive custom in Ireland, That Rebels and Traytors might with the Money they had gotten from the spoiled *English* by Pillage and Villany, procure for themselves Protection and Pardon. The Queen was well inclined to have sent the Lord *Montjoy* into Ireland; but the Earl of *Essex* pretended to it, and he was chosen. Others say the Council put him upon it, that he might put an end to the Troubles of Ireland, which had been encreased by the Contentions between the Commanders that were employed before, and also by the deaths of Sir *John Norris*, and that of the Lord Deputy, as well as by the Defeat of *Marshall Bagnal*: That the Lords cried up the

the Valour of the *Earl of Essex* to the skies; and affirmed that there was not in *England* any General who could undertake the Reduction of so far-spread a Rebellion, with that Prudence, Diligence, and Courage, they might expect from him. Thus he was sent thither by the perfidious Commendations of his Enemies, against the opinion of his real and true Friends, that they that put him upon it might when he was there, find an opportunity to ruin him. The Earl on the other side was anxious, and unresolved what to do; for as he feared the Fate of his Father, who perished in that Kingdom, so he could not tell how to oppose his own Destiny; and accepted of an Employment which no other durst pretend to, purely to comply with the good opinion of the whole Privy Council, which loaded him with Praises on this occasion, tho in his heart he misdoubted the Event. The Queen also sent him away thither with great Testimonies of her Affection to him, commending him excessively for preferring her Service before his own Safety; but then this was the last good day that unfortunate Earle ever saw.

The Army
under Essex
20000 men.

He landed there the 15th of *April*, 1599. with 13000 Horse, and 16000 Foot, which were made up 20000. there being more than that number in Arms against the Queen: But with all these Forces he did nothing worthy of his former Reputation, or of his Army: And that Winter he went out of *Ireland* in a Discontent, without the Queen's Leave, and returned unexpectedly to the Court, which proved his Ruin. *Tyrone* grew insolent hereupon, and profess'd publickly he would recover the Liberty of Religion and his Countrey.

The Lord
Montjoy sent
Deputy. The
Methods by
which he
ruined the *I-*
rish, and end-
ed the War.

Charles Lord Montjoy was thereupon sent *Lord Deputy*, who landed the 24th. of *February*, 1599. The *English* Army was then 1200 Horse, and 14000 Foot; and the General finding the *Irish* Strength was in their Fastnesses, he resolved to ruin them by small flying Parties placed in Garisons; and this way accordingly destroyed them without redress, and they began to talk of submitting, which was not regarded, because all the world saw there was no Truth, Faith, or Honour in this barbarous and false Enemy. From thence-
forward

forward many that begged for Pardon were denied it, if they did not bring in the Heads of their Fellow-Traytors, or do some other considerable service to purchase it, which they seldom failed of attempting, and were very often taken by their own Party in the Fact and hanged. The War went vigorously on, and the Rebels were generally beaten in all places till the 23^d. of September, 1601. when the *Spaniards* landed at *Kingsale*, and the *English* immediately sat down before it; yet the *Spaniards* (tho beaten in every Sally) defended the Town to the 24th. of December, when there was a general Battel between *Tyrone* and all the Rebels on the one side, and so many of the *English* as could be spared out of the Trenches: *Tyrone* was beaten out of the Field, and he lost 1200 of his men, 800 wounded, and the *English* lost only one Cornet, and six Soldiers: The *Spaniards* knew nothing of the Battel, and made no Sally till it was over, tho the Fight was within one Mile of *Kingsale*, but then they sallied twice to no purpose; whereupon, the 31st. of December, the *Spaniards* capitulated, and delivered up the Town. After this,

No *Irish* pardoned, but what merited the Mercy by some signal Service.

The *Spaniards* land at *Kingsale*.

The *Irish* reduced to eat man's flesh.

Tyrone submits.

Religion causlessly made the pretence of the *Irish* Rebellion.

the War went on so successfully against these Rebels, and they were reduced to such Necessities, that the Parents eat their Children, and three Children roasted the flesh of their dead Mother, and lived upon it twenty days; so that this exceeded the Famine of *Jerusalem*: The 30th. of *March*, 1602. *Tyrone* submitted to Mercy at *Melifont*, begging to be received upon his Knees. Thus ended this most dangerous Rebellion that ever was made in *Ireland* before that time, about a week after the Death of the Queen, and before it was known. It had never risen to that height, but for the over-great penuriousness of the Queen; for which she afterwards paid very dear, and had not the happiness to see the Traytor *Tyrone* at her foot before her Death; but however she was sufficiently revenged of all her Enemies, by the Ruin, Famine, Deaths, and Plagues that fell upon them; Heaven favouring her Cause, and blasting all their Undertakings against her. It is very observable, that the main pretence of this Rebellion, was the Preservation of the *Roman-Catholick Religion*; yet there was then never any Law passed in this Kingdom

Kingdom against it, nor any Prosecution made of those that professed it; but they had a perfect Liberty of Conscience to embrace which of the Religions they pleased; only the Church-Preferments and Revenues were put into the hands of the Protestant Clergy, and the Tythes paid to them; and the Government was generally put into the hands of the Protestant Nobility and Gentry, but so that they were mixed; and they of the other Religion being more in number, were commonly returned on all Juries: So that *Liberty of Conscience* will not keep a divided Kingdom always quiet; but there have ever been men to be found, who are as uneasie when they cannot persecute others, as when they themselves are persecuted. The Charge of this War from the first of *October*, 1598. to the first of *April*, 1603. amounted to Eleven hundred ninety eight thousand seven hundred and seventeen Pounds Nineteen Shillings and One Penny, as Mr. Cox assures us; from whence he inferreth how justly the *Irish* had forfeited the Estates were taken from them; and how reasonable it will ever be for the *English* in *Ireland* to contribute

Liberty of
Conscience
considered.

bute freely to the maintaining of a good Army for the preserving that Kingdom in Peace.

The Great-
ness of the
Reputation
of the *English*
Nation in Q.
Elizabeth's
time.

In her time the *English Nation* was at its highest pitch of Honour, Wealth, and Reputation. The Queen was also in the greatest esteem that was possible with all the Neighbour Nations; because she had delivered *Scotland* from the hated Dominion of the *French*; and she had after this succoured and supported the *Netherlands* when their Affairs were most desperate; she had sent vast Treasures into *France* to support *Henry* the IVth. against the Holy League, and the King of *Spain*; and when after all, *Ireland* had been stirr'd up against her, and had made almost a general Revolt under the Command of a false and treacherous Traytor, she had the good fortune to reduce that Kingdom by the Prosperity of her Arms, and the Valour of her Subjects. *Spain* was in her time terrible to all the other Nations in *Europe*, till her Navies afflicted and ruined that Kingdom, by burning their Fleets and Naval Stores at the *Groyne* and *Cadiz*. Her Fame spread it self to the most distant parts

parts of *Europe*; and the *Muscovites* and *Turks*, who were only known by report to the *English* before her happy times, sent Ambassies to her to beg her Friendship, and settle Commerce and Trade with her. The King of *Morocco* and *Fez*, in *Barbary* in *Africa*, sent also an Ambassy to her; so that her Subjects had the pleasure of smiling at the half-naked *Moors*, and the *Russ* who were loaded with *Furs* after the manner of their Countrey. The *Hollander*, *French*, *Poles*, *Germans*, *Danes*, and *Swedes*, and all the other Nations about her, begged her Friendship in times of Peace, her Assistance and Protection in times of War, and on every occasion testified their sense of her Favours, and their Gratitude for the good offices she had done them. She laboured always to unite those Princes who were her Friends and Allies, by Marriages and other such methods; if any Controversie or Difference at any time arose between them, she sent her Letters and her Ambassadors to both the Parties to compose them; and they on the other side did for the most part acquiesce in her Judgment, and yield to her Authority. If
in

Her Carriage
towards her
Allies a-
broad.

in any part of her Dominions the Countrey hapned to become desolate and ill peopl'd, she took particular care to send *Colonies* thither to supply that defect. She brought her meanest Subjects from an idle, poor, and beggarly way of living, to the practice of good and useful Trades; many of which were brought into *England* in her time by the banished and persecuted *Netherlanders*, to the great benefit and advantage of this Kingdom. She made the Naval Glory of *England* equal to its Military or Land-Service and Reputation. The Bounds of her Fame were not confined to *England*, but extended to the utmost parts of the earth, and the farthest Recesses of the *Ocean*; for her Subjects in her time passed the *Line*, and filled all the corners of the habitable world with the fame of this most Celebrated Queen. There was no place in the wide and remotest *Ocean*, but her Subjects sailed thither with their Merchandize to enrich their Countrey. The *English* Fleets then first pierced into the vast Bays of the *East-Indian Ocean*; and they frequented the *Philippine Islands*, and the South Parts of *Asia*, and the Eastern Shores
of

of *Affrica*. *Drake* and *Cavendish*, in these times went round the Globe of the Earth, and erected every where Trophies to the Honour of their Queen. This last was not only above the hopes, but beyond the thoughts of this Nation, so far they were of attempting any thing of that nature before.

Sir *Francis Drake* was of a mean and obscure Extraction, and born in *Devonshire*, his Father embracing the *Protestant Religion* in the time of *Henry VIII.* was persecuted for the same, and forced to remove for his greater security into *Kent*, after which he entred Orders, and by Poverty was constrained to bind his Son to the Master of a Ship, who sometimes passed into *France* and *Flanders*. The young Man so well pleased his Master, that he dying unmarried, he gave this Servant of his, his Ship. After this he put himself under Mr. *John Hawkins*, who in the year 1567. was preparing a small Fleet at *Plymouth*, with a design to discover some yet unknown Parts of *America*; but this Voyage was very unfortunate, and the *English* falling into the hands of the *Spaniards*, he lost all his

Sir *Francis Drake's* Original and Story.

his stock, and hardly escaped with his Liberty. After this he became one of the most famous Mariners this Nation has produced ; and by his industry he opened the way to both the *Indies*, which before was not known to the *English*. For about five years after this first Voyage, he preyed as a Pyrate upon the *Spaniards* wheresoever he found them, and could master them ; and having by this means acquired a good sum of Money, he built a stout Ship, which he called the *Dragon*, with which and two Barks he ventured once more in the Year 1572. to visit the Coasts of *America*, and took *Nombre de Dios*, a Town in the Bay of *Mexico*. Here he was informed by the *Negroes* that were Slaves to the *Spaniards* (and were called *Cimarones*) that a vast Treasure in Gold and Silver was to be shortly after transported by Mules and other Land-Carriages from *Panama*, in order to be shipped for *Spain*: These he waylayed, and seized all this Wealth, which proved much more than he could bring away ; so that he was forced to leave the Silver, a great part of which he buried in the Earth, but he got all the Gold on board his Ship ; after which

which he burnt *Sancta Cruz*, a Rich Receptacle of the Merchandises of this Country, seated upon the River *Chiagre*, which falls into the Gulf of *Mexico*, at *Porto Bello*. This Town of *Sancta Cruz* seems to be that which Mr. Gage in his Travels calls *Venta de Cruzes*, and saith it lies about twelve Leagues from *Panama* to the East, upon the *Chiagre*, and was in his time inhabited by none but *Mulatto's* and *Black-Moors*, who belonged to the Boats that carry the Goods brought thither from *Panama* to *Porto Bello*. Thus far this bold Captain ventured to travel by Land with a small Party of resolute *English* men, to the great loss and terror of the *Spaniards*; and by the success of it encouraged others to follow him. So that the *Buccaneers*, which in our times have performed such wonderful things in *America*, have only followed him in their Adventures. From the Mountains of *St. Pablo* upon this River he first saw the *Mar del Zur*, or the *Pacifick Ocean*, which washeth the *Western Shoars* of *America*, and thereupon being strangely possess'd with a strong desire to sail hereafter upon that Ocean, he fell down upon his Knees,
and

and beseeched God to grant him that favour, vowing to do his utmost for the discovering it; and from thenceforth he found no rest in his mind night or day, till he had accomplished this Resolution. In the mean time our Great Man having divided the spoil he had taken amongst his followers, with an open hand to all their content, he set sail for *England* with vast Riches. Whilst others gazed on the Gold he brought home with wonder; He gloried in nothing but that he had seen the *Mar de Zyr*, and thought of nothing but the making Preparations to sail upon it, which the Treasure he had got (for he was now become very rich) furnished him with means to effect, and enabled him to build Ships for that purpose.

The Story
of John Oxen-
ham.

Whilst he was thus employed, one *John Oxenham* a Common Sailer, who had served under him in his former Expeditions, as a Soldier, Seaman, and Cook, and had gained the name of a Captain amongst the Mariners, having scraped together underhand a good stock, took up the same Project, and resolved once more to rob the *Mulatto's*,
and

and sail upon that Sea before his Master; to this end he got a single Ship, and 70 Sailors to venture with him; and in the year 1575. sailed to the same place; but hearing from the *Negroes*, that now the *Spaniards* were become so cautious as to send a Guard of Soldiers with their *Caravans*, to guard them from *Panama* to *Porto Bello*, he drew his Ship ashore in a desolate place, and covered it with Boughs, burying his Cannon and Provisions in the earth, and then with all his Company, and six *Negroes* for his Guide, he travelled to a River, which falls into the *South Sea*, where he cut down Timber, and built some Boats, and so passed to the *Island of Pearls* in that Ocean, which lay not far from the Mouth of this River; where he staid ten days to expect the return of the Ships from *Peru*; and he intercepted one with sixty pound of *Gold*, and another with One hundred pound of *Silver*; and in these ships he passed back to the River. The News of this being brought to the *Spaniards*, they sent *John de Ortega*, with an hundred Soldiers, to pursue the bold Adventurers; the River had Three Mouths, and he was doubtful which

to chuse, till the Feathers of the Fowls the *English* had eaten, came down, and shewed him which way they were gone before : The *Spaniards* found the Gold, and the *English* contending about the dividing of it amongst them, but they soon put an end to the brawl, and defended themselves against the *Spaniards*, who were more numerous than they, with great Courage, but many of them being slain in the Fight, the rest were taken, and amongst them *Oxenham* the Captain, and sent to *Lima*, where being not able to produce any Commission from the Queen for the invading these *Spanish* Dominions, he and many of the Mariners were executed as *Pirates*, and the common enemies of mankind.

Drake's second Voyage to America.

Drake, who knew nothing of this Attempt and Miscarriage of *Oxenham*, in the year 1577. the 13th. of *December*, set sail from *Plimouth* with five Ships, and 163 Mariners ; the 16th. of *April* he arrived in the Mouth of the River of Plate in *Brasil* ; the 20th. of *August* he arrived at the Mouth of the Streights of *Magellan* ; when he came into the *Pacifick* Ocean, he found it

it very turbulent, and was driven by a furious Tempest, in a few days, above a hundred Leagues to the *South*; and here one of the Ships being separated, returned back again through these Streights into *England*. After this, *Drake* took *St. Jago* in *Chili*, and plundered it, and here he got a Prize with 400 pound of pure Gold. Arriving at *Turapassa*, he found 13 Bars of Massy Silver, of the value of CCCC M Ducats, which was left on the ground by some *Spaniards*, who were asleep by it; he took the Silver, and never waked the Keepers of it. From thence he pass'd to the Port of *Arica*, in which he found three Ships without one man in them, but there was 57 Wedges of Silver, each of 20 pound weight, and some other Merchandize which he took. Arriving at *Lima*, he found twelve Ships, but all the Mariners were on shore, and yet in them he had a great quantity of Silk, and a Chest of Minted Silver; which shews how secure from Pyrates this Coast had to this time been. Nor in truth till this time had any other than the *Spaniards* ever sailed upon this Sea, except *Oxenham*. In his journey to *Panama* he took a

He takes
St. Jago.

S 2

Barque

Barque without any resistance, that afforded him 80 pound weight of Gold. The first of *March* he took a Ship called the *Cacofoga*, which had on board 80 pound weight of Gold, and 13 Chests of Minted Money, and as much Silver as balasted his own Ship; the Master of this Ship told him, That his Ship (*Drake's*) should henceforth be call'd the *Cacofoga*, and the *Spanish* Ship the *Catoplatia*.

Being thus wonderfully enriched, and, as he thought, sufficiently avenged on the *Spaniards* for the Loss he had sustained in his first Attempt upon *Vera Cruz*, he began to consider of his return; and not thinking the passage by the Streights of *Magellan* safe (as in truth it was beset by the Orders of *Francis Duke of Toledo*, then Viceroy of *Peru*) he directed his Course *Northward* to the height of 42 Degrees of *North Latitude*, to seek a passage; but finding nothing but snow and desolate shores, he returned to 38 degrees, and Wintered there, calling the Countrey *New Albion*; and here the naked people chose him for their King, and by their ignorance shewed him plainly the

the *Spaniards* had never been so far that way. In the Month of *November* he set sail for the *Molucca* Islands; the 9th. of *January* his Ship stuck 27 hours upon a Rock, but by the blessing of God came off it by a side-wind, which seem'd to be sent of purpose to save this *Hero*. From thence he passed to the Island of *Java* in the *East Indies*, and so to the Cape of *Good Hope*, which had never been seen before by any *Englishman*; and Watering at the *Rio Grande* in *Africa*, he arrived in *England* the 3^d. of *November*, 1580. having in this time gone round the Globe of the Earth. The People of *England* received him with great Triumph, and a Publick Joy; and the Queen as a Reward of the good Service he had done her against the *Spaniards*, Knighted him, and caused the Ship he had sailed in to be laid up at *Deptford*. Mr. *Gage*, our Countrey-man, who lived some years in the *Spanish* Territories in *America*, assures us, his Memory is preserved there by the *Spaniards*, who to this day, saith he, admire this Expedition, and teach their Children to fear even his Name. After this the Queen often made him one of her Admirals;

He sails for
the *Molucca*
Islands.

and he being grown exceeding rich, took diligent care to put out a greater Fleet, and openly assaulted the Island of *St. Jago*, and took *St. Domingo*, and *Carthagena*, and some others in the *West Indies*, being sent by the Queen with 21 Ships, and 2300 men, in the year 1585. The Towns they took in this Expedition were either so poor that there was nothing of Silver or Gold to be found in them, or they had had such previous notice of the coming of the *English*, that they had sent away all that was valuable; yet *St. Domingo* and *Carthagena* were forced to redeem themselves from Fire by Money; the first gave Twenty five thousand Ducats, and the latter One hundred and ten thousand, which was presently divided amongst the Mariners and Seamen. The *Spaniards* more regretted the loss of their ships, great numbers being burnt; and this hastned the Invasion designed upon *England*, which was undertaken in the year 1588. which miscarrying, the *Spanish* Greatness dwindled into nothing; and after the Queen's Death they were glad to send to King *James* the First, her Successor, to beg a Peace in the first year of

of his Reign; so the Honour of Reducing *Spain* was hers, and that of settling Peace, after a War that had lasted so long, his.

The Riches and Fame Sir *Francis Drake* had acquired in these Maritime Expeditions, encouraged Mr. *Thomas Cavendish*, a Gentleman of *Trimely* in the County of *Suffolk*, to pursue the same methods for the raising his Fortunes, and with them the Reputation and Glory of the *English* Nation. The 21st of *July*, 1586. he set out from *Plimouth* with three ships, the biggest of which was but 120 Tuns, and 123 Seamen, with Provisions for two years. With this small Fleet he passed the Streights of *Magellan*, and sailed up to the Coast of *New Spain* in the *Mar del Zur*, and took 19 of the *Spanish* Merchant ships, and burnt two or three of their Towns, and then sailing to the *Philippine* Islands, the *Molucca's*, and the Cape of *Good Hope*, he staid some time in *St. Helens*; and the 9th. of *September*, 1588. he returned to *Plymouth*; he having been the second man of this Nation, that went round the Globe of the Earth, with no less Ho-

The Story of
Mr. *Thomas*
Cavendish.

nour, tho he returned with less Spoils than the first Adventurer. The Queen entertained him at *Greenwich*, and bestowed upon him many Marks of her Favour, and gave him some considerable Rewards. Sir *Martin Forbisher*, or *Frobisher*, Sir *John Hawkins*, *Davis*, *Jackman*, *Jenken*, and Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, and many others of the *English*, employed their time in searching out the remotest parts of the world at the same time to very good effect, there having been great Trades driven ever since by the *Dutch* and *English*, by the means of their Discoveries. Mr. *Richard Hackluit*, who lived in these times, took a particular care to collect and publish the Journals of all these Voyages; by which he deserved very well of this Nation; and it is a great pity that his Works are become so scarce, and so little known, and that no man has since pursued the same method; these Discourses being of great use for all Mariners, and serving very much for the enlarging and clearing the Geography of the World.

Hackluit records and publishes all the *English* Expeditions in these and former times.

Philip King of *Spain* being highly incensed by the ruin of so many of his Towns,

Towns, and the losses he had sustained by *Drake's* Expeditions, gave Order that all the *English* Sea-men that should after this be taken in *America*, should be treated like Pyrates and the Enemies of mankind: And all the Merchant Ships that fell into his hands, were seized, and the Merchants imprisoned, tho there was then no open Wars proclaimed; and he laid cunning Designs to ruin the *English* Nation, which the necessity of his other affairs put off from time to time; so that there were Threats of a War, and great Preparations made for it, rather than a War. But when he saw Threats and Anger would not terrifie the *English*, he turned his secret Anger into open War, and entred into a Contention which in the end proved fatal to himself and his Nation: He prepared to that end a vast Fleet of 134 Sail of Ships, so great, so arm'd, and so mann'd, that perhaps the Ocean never bore such another on its proud Billows; there was on board it 20000 Land-men, and 8300 Sea-men, and the Command of it was committed to the Duke of *Medina Celi*, a Person of an exalted Worth and Reputation: One *Martin Recalde* was, under him,

Philip King of Spain highly incensed against the *English* Nation.

The Invincible Armado in 1588. prepared and sent to invade *England*.

him, the great Director of the Fleet, being a Pilot of great Experience. This Fleet, which had raised so great an Expectation in the Neighbour-Countries, that it was not doubted but it would not only subdue but overwhelm the little Island of *Great Britain*, sailed from the *Greyne* the 12th. of *July*, 1588. and came within sight of *Cornwal*, the 19th. of the same Month; whereupon the *Beacons* were fired, and one *Fleming* came in with a Scout-Ship; and assured the *English* Admiral, the *Spanish* Fleet had been seen by him near the *Lizzard*: The *English* Fleet was then in the Port of *Plimouth*, under the Command of *Charles* Lord *Howard*, then *Admiral* of *England*: And as it was believed the *Spanish* Fleet would not have come that year, so there was not on board it that number of men that was necessary to man it, and which on the sudden was hardly possible to be got together; but however, the *Admiral* went first to Sea, and gave the Signal for the rest to follow, and he ranged them in their Order as they were able to get out. The *Spanish* Ships were very much higher and stronger than the *English*, and had greater

Charles Lord
Howard Ad-
miral of Eng-
land.

greater and more Cannon; but there was four *CARACKS* of an excessive Greatness, and which seemed scarce fit for motion, which served instead of Castles to defend the smaller Ships: The *English* Fleet, on the contrary, was nimble, and very well provided for Fight or Flight, and managed by men that understood the Sea-Affairs wonderfully well; so that they assaulted the *Spanish Armado* the 21st. of *July*, with Dexterity and Courage: The Fight lasted three days without any intermission, and then was intermitted for want of Gunpowder. After this they followed the *Spanish* Fleet, (which kept its course for *Flanders*, notwithstanding this continual Fight); and when any Ship happened to be separated from the main body, they would be sure to be upon it, and for the most part they took it. The *English* were at first but 40 Sail, the rest not being able to get out of the Port. The *St. Catharina*, a great *Spanish Galias*, the first day was so torn by the *English* Shot, that they were forced to take it into the Body of the Fleet to repair the Mischief it had received: The principal *Galeon* of *Sevil*, wherein many of the *Spanish*
No-

Nobility failed, falling foul upon another Ship, in this disorder had her Fore-mast broken, and so could not sail with the rest, but was left to the Mercy of the Seas, and of the *English*. The 22d. of July, Sir *Francis Drake* found this great *Galeon*, which was disabled, and summon'd it to yield, which was done when they heard *Drake* was the man they had to do with: The Commander of this ship was *Valdez*, who was one of the principal persons in the Navy, and he had with him 450 persons. The same day the Admiral of the Squadron of *Guipuscoa*, commanded by *Michael de Oquendo*, Vice-Admiral of the whole Fleet, was set on fire by a disoblighd *Hollander*, the upper part of it, and most of the men perished, but the Gunpowder never fired. This night the Admiral of *England* followed the *Spanish* Lanthorn, and was next morning in the midst of their Fleet. The 23d. of July, the *Spanish* Fleet was over-against *Portland*, and the Wind was against the *English*; but they being nimbler, soon recovered that advantage again over the unwieldy *Spaniards*; this day the *English* played with more fury on
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the *Spaniards* than the two former, but they would not be provoked to stop till they came to *Calis*, that being the Orders given them in *Spain*; by this time the *Englisb* Fleet was become a hundred strong, of one sort or other; and many Voluntier Ships made out by men of all degrees, were come into it; and by that time they came to *Dover*, there was 130. of which yet there was not above 22. or 23. of the Queen's biggest ships, that were able to grapple with the *Spanisb* ships. The 24th. of *July* the Sea was calm, and four great *Galeasses* which had Oars, fought the *Englisb* Fleet with great advantage; by night the *Englisb* wanted Gunpowder, which they sent for that night. The 25th. the *Spaniards* being at the height of the Isle of *Wight*, the Admiral of *England*, with five of the biggest ships, attacked the Admiral of *Spain* in the midst of his Fleet, and then there followed a terrible fight, which was managed on both sides with the utmost Bravery; but the *Spaniards* grew weary of it, and cast themselves again into the form of a Ring. The 26th. the Admiral Knighted Sir *Martin Forbisber*, and Sir *John Hawkins*. The 27th.
by

by Sun-set the *Spanish Fleet* arrived over-against *Dover*, their Fleet cast Anchor this night in the Channel, within sight both of *Dover* and *Calis*, and the *English Fleet* were within Cannon-shot of it, and now 130 strong; from hence the Duke of *Medina* sent to the Duke of *Parma*, who was then at *Dunkirk*, and had Orders to join this Fleet, to hasten out the Land Army, which in 40 *Fly-boats* was to have joined him, that being covered by this huge Fleet, and with the Forces sent from *Spain*, now aboard it, a Descent might be made in *England*; but the *Hollanders* having notice of his Intentions, had sent a Fleet of 35. Men of War, under the Command of *Justin of Nassau*, their Admiral, on board the which was 1200 Musketeers; and he had Orders not to suffer any ship to come out of the Ports of *Flanders*, nor any *Zabraes*, *Pataches*, or other small Vessels of the *Spanish Fleet* to enter there-into; and this *Dutch Fleet* so awed the *Duke of Parma* and his Land-Army, that they durst not stir, nor indeed was his Army then come to the Sea, or ready to be embark'd, if he could have gone out; and besides, he wanted all
man-

ner of Necessaries for such an Expedition; and all the *Flandrians* had no great inclinations to make the King of *Spain* Master of *England*, to the Ruin of their own Civil Privileges. The Mariners also that were to have served the Duke of *Parma*, being terrified by the *Hollanders*, withdrew from the danger, and stole away for fear they should have been forced by the Duke to attempt the passing through the *Dutch Fleet* to their Ruin. The 2d. of *August* was the day appointed for the landing in *England*; but before that came, the Admiral of *England* having chosen eight old Ships, and filled them with combustible matter, and charged all their Ordnance with Stones and Bullets, he sent them the 28th. of *July*, about Two of the Clock in the morning, with the Wind and Tide against the *Spanish Fleet*, and when they were just upon it, the Mariners fired all these ships at once, and left them under sail to enter the *Spanish Fleet*; this fire in the dead of the night put the *Spaniards* into such an affright, that cutting their Cables, and hoisting their Sails, they betook themselves to the Sea in great confusion and disorder; one of
the

the greatest of their *Galeasses* falling foul upon another ship, lost her Rudder, and was driven on the Coast of *Calis*, where the *English* found and took her, and in her, besides other valuable Spoils, they found 50000 *Ducats* of the King of *Spain's* Treasure. The 29th. of *July* the *Spanish Fleet* got it self into some Order again before *Graveling*, but the *English Fleet* which had followed it, furiously assaulted it, and the *Spaniards* suffered the *English* to get the Weathergage of them, tho they were more in number, and stronger than the *English*, but they were resolved to keep on the Defensive part till *Parma* was joined with them. This whole day was spent in a furious Fight, with great slaughter of the *Spaniards*, tho there was few ships taken or sunk; but at night the *English* having spent all their Powder, retired. In all these fights the *English* did not lose above 100 men, and amongst them not one Person of Quality. The *Spanish Ships* were so battered, that this night two or three of them sunk, and amongst them a great ship of *Biscay*, and two *Portugal Galeons* of Seven or Eight Hundred Tun, were deserted by the
Spa-

Spanish Fleet, because the Water entred into them on all sides, and taken by the *Hollanders* of *Flushing*. That day the *Spanish* Fleet passed by *Dunkirk*: The next day the *Spanish* Fleet cut down their Main-Sails, and resolved to fight no more; nor was there any occasion, for the *English* Admiral having sent a Squadron to secure the Duke of *Parma* in *Flanders*, he with the rest pursued the *Spanish* Fleet till the 2d. of *August*, but tho he was very near them, yet wanting Powder and Ball he never offered them any violence. The 4th. of *August*, the *Spanish* Navy spread all their Sails before a strong Wind, and committed their shattered ships to the Violence of the *Northern* Ocean, but the *English* following them to 57. Degrees of *North-Latitude*, returned and left them to receive the rest of their Chastisement from the Seas, and the *Scots* and *Irish*, but there were certain Pinnaces sent to follow them, and observe their Motions at a distance.

The *Spaniards* found they had lost four or five thousand of their men, and ten or twelve of their principal ships; and tho they were rid of the *English*,
The Condition of the *Spanish* Fleet, when the *English* left it:
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yet they wanted *Water* and *Viſtuals*, *Cables*, *Cordage*, *Anchors*, *Maſts*, and *Sails*; and as for the Duke of *Parma*, he they ſaw could not ſuccour them; ſo they reſolved to paſs round about *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and return into *Spain*; they alſo caſt over-board all their *Horſes* and *Mules*, to preſerve the remainder of their *Water*: Thus they were driven *Northward* to 61 Degrees of Latitude; Twenty five of the beſt provided ſhips returned into *Spain*; forty more wanting *Water*, ſet ſail for *Ireland* to get freſh *Water* there: Theſe (the 2d. of *September*) were by a Storm from the *South-Weſt* driven upon ſeveral parts of *Ireland*, and moſt of their *Ships* periſhed, together with the men in them; others were by a *Weſt* Wind blown into the *Engliſh* Channel again, and were taken by the *Engliſh* or *Rochellers*: So that of 134 ſhips (as ſome counted them) that came from *Spain*, there never returned above 53. Of almoſt 30000 men that went in it, there periſhed above half, and many of them that came back, died with the hardſhips they had ſuffered. In ſhort, there was not one Great Family in *Spain*, which did not loſe a Son, a Brother,

Brother, or a Kinsman. All those of the *Spaniards* which hapned to be cast upon the Coast of *Scotland*, were entertained by the *Scots*, and fed and cloathed, and afterwards sent into *Spain*; but those that were cast upon the Coast of *Ireland*, were plundered of all that was left them by the *English* and *Irish*, and without any Mercy put to the Sword; those that were cast upon the Coasts of *Norway* and *France*, and even those that fell into the hands of the *English* and the *Hollanders*, met with a better treatment: So that *Ireland* the most deceived their expectation, and of a *Friend* proved the most implacable and barbarous *Enemy* to this wretched Fleet in their greatest distress.

Philip King of *Spain* bore the Loss of this great Fleet and Army with a more equal mind than is usual for Princes; and at last took the Duke of *Medina*, the General of this unfortunate Expedition, again into his favour; attributing the Calamity not to the Imprudence or Negligence of the General, but to the Violence of Tempests, and the Rage of the Ocean; tho in

The King of *Spain* bears his Loss with much Patience and Prudence.

truth it was owing to the Blessing of God upon the Valour and Policy of the *English*, and the too strict Orders they brought from *Spain*, Not to engage till they were joined with the Duke of *Parma*, who could never get out of the Harbour to meet them, being locked in by the *Hollanders*: This exposed them for so many days to the Fire of the *English* Cannon, with the advantage of the Weathergage; and had the *English* had Powder enough to have continued the Fight to the last, very much fewer of these ships had ever returned into *Spain*: But however, when they were battered and strangely weakned, they were forced to take the way of the *Northern* Ocean in *September*, and were exposed to dreadful Tempests, wanting fresh Water, Victuals, and all other Necessaries; for all the *Northern* Countries hated the *Spaniards*, so that neither *Germany*, *Denmark*, nor *Scotland* would relieve them: Thus being exposed to all manner of hardships in this battered estate, it is a great wonder so many of them returned into *Spain*. Some were for grappling with these ships when they fought them in the *British* Seas, but the *Eng-*
lish

lish Admiral considering they were taller and stronger than the *English* ships, and had a Land-Army on board to defend their Decks, which we had not, he would never consent to it, and this was a principal cause of the Victory. The States of *Holland*, and the *English* Nation, which were equally concerned in this Victory, returned the Glory of it to God alone, who was acknowledged by all as the Author of it, the *English* Fleet being nothing, when compared with the bulky ships that came from *Spain*; so that they thought we would not have dared to resist them: The 29th. of *November* the Queen went into the City of *London* in a Triumphant Chariot, the *Spanish* Colours that were taken being born before her to *St. Paul's Church*, where was a Sermon and a solemn Thanksgiving, at which the Mayor and all the Companies were present; and the same Piety was commanded at the same time in all the remoter parts of her Kingdom; and it was observed by her Subjects with the highest Expressions of Joy and Gratitude towards God, and of Loyalty and Affection towards her; so that she was now in the

The *English*
and *Holland-*
ers glorifie
God for the
Victory.

height of all her Glory both at Home and Abroad, beloved by her Friends, and feared by her Enemies, who were never after in a condition to assault her Kingdom the second time; but found it difficult to defend their own against her and her brave Martial Commanders.

The Queen declares a War against the King of Spain.

The English Expeditions against that Kingdom.

To revenge this Attempt upon her Kingdoms, the Queen the same year put out a Declaration of War against *Philip* King of *Spain*, which was sharply Penn'd, and from thenceforward to the end of her days there was a perpetual and a sharp War carried on against the *Spaniards*, which kept her Subjects quiet at home. The very next year she sent Sir *Francis Drake* with a Fleet into *Spain*, who took the *Groyne*, as is said above; by which Action she defeated the Designs of that King, who was preparing there for a second Invasion; and having abated his Pride and Rashness into a more tractable Modesty, she thereby delivered her People from a signal Danger. In this War the Earl of *Essex* signalized himself by taking *Cadiz* in 1596. and Burning all the ships he found in that Harbour. *George*
Earl

Earl of *Cumberland*, and *Thomas* Lord *Howard*, a younger Son of the Duke of *Norfolk*, lay heavy upon the *Spaniards*, and took many of their ships richly laden, giving all but the tenth part (which was reserved for the Queen) to the Mariners and Soldiers as the Reward of their Valour. In the year 1597. having heard the King of *Spain* was preparing a Fleet against *Ireland*, she sent a Navy of 120 ships, part *English*, and part *Hollanders*, under the Earl of *Essex*, and in it a Land-Army of 6000 men; but this Fleet went out and met with so severe a storm, that it was forced to return, and after that, was detained by contrary Winds, so that the Provisions being spent, the greatest part of the Army and of the ships were dismissed, the rest got to Sea the 17th. of *August*. This Fleet went to the *Azores* where Sir *Walter Rawleigh* took the Town of *Fial*, and beat the *Spaniards* that endeavoured to hinder his passage to it. After this they lost the opportunity of surprizing the *Spanish Indian* Fleet, which they there waited for, and returned into *England* without any signal Victory, or what might help to bear the Charges

of this Expedition, which was owing in great part to the Emulations between the Chief Commanders, who envied each other the Glory of doing well. Tho the *English* did not get much by this Expedition, yet the *Spaniards* were great Losers, one of their biggest Caracks being forced ashore, and burnt, three ships were taken, and many others of that Fleet being kept out too long, perished by tempestuous weather; whereas all the *English* Fleet returned in safety.

The Earl of
Cumberland
put out a
Fleet against
Spain at his
own Cost.

In the year 1597. *George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland*, at his own proper Costs and Charge put out a Fleet of Eleven ships to way-lay the *Caracks* that go every year from *Lisbon* to the *East-Indies*; but they having notice of his being there, sheltered themselves under the Fort of *St. Juliana*, which had a Hundred great Guns to defend it; and here he attended so long, that there was no ships sent that year. From thence he set sail to the *Canary Islands*, and took that which is called *Lance-rata*, with the Town upon it, which he pillaged: Thence he passed to *Borriquena* in the Bay of *Mexico* in the
West-

West-Indies, and took *Porto Rico*, the principal Town in it, and one of the Keys of *America*, with the loss of less than 30 of his men, though it was very strong, and defended by 400 *Spanish* Soldiers, besides the Towns-men. The Earl considering the strength and importance of the Place, resolved to keep it, though the *Spaniards* offered him a vast price for the redemption of it; but within a short time a Disentery, with grievous Torments seized the *English* Garison, so that in 40 days he buried 70 of his men; and this forced him to return home with 60 great Guns, but otherwise more exalted by the Victory than enriched. However, he did the Crown of *Spain* a vast damage, for that Year there went no Fleet to the *East-Indies*, and there came none home from *America*. It is observed of this Great Man, That his building so many great ships, and some other less honourable Diversions, wasted more of his Estate, than any of his Ancestors had spent. After this the Rebellion of *Tyrone* grew so formidable to the Queen, and the *English* Nation, that all the Money and Forces the Queen could spare, were employed that way, and spent in *Ireland*,

land, of which I have given an Account in its proper place; So that from henceforth there was no considerable Expedition undertaken against the *Spaniards*.

A rare Example of Martial Valour and Courage.

There was one singular Instance of Personal Valour in the Course of this War, which happened in the Year 1591. but was reserved to this Place, that the Steps by which the *Spanish* Pride and Greatness were abated and pull'd down, might appear the better by being laid together. May this Magnanimity of this Virgin Queen be an encouragement and an Example to the Present Age for the humbling another Prince, who in our times, and by our means, is become a terror to all his Neighbours on the score of his Naval Forces, though infinitely inferior in that, and the Point of Wealth too, to *Philip* the Ild. King of *Spain*. But to return, *Tho. Lord Howard*, Second Son of the Duke of *Norfolk*, was sent this year with six Men of War, and six Ships of Burthen, to way-lay the *American* Fleet in its return to *Spain*, whilst he was waiting for it at the *Azores*, where he lay six months, his Soldiers and

and Sea-men being generally sick, *Alphonso Bassano*, the *Spanish* Admiral, came upon him suddenly with 80 Ships, so that the *English* could hardly gain the main Sea to make their defence. One *RICHARD GREENVILL*, Vice-Admiral, being in a Ship called the *REVENGE*, staying a little too long to take in some of his men who were on shoar, and not hoisting his Sails neither in the mean time, out of a contempt of the *Spaniards*; by all these oversights happened to be shut in between the *Spanish* Fleet and the Island. Attempting, when it was too late, to break through the *Spanish* Fleet, which was divided into four Squadrons, the *Spanish* Admiral, called the *St. Philip*, a Ship of vast bulk, clapt in between him and the Wind to deprive him of it, and three smaller Ships surrounded him, and poured in their great and small Shot on all sides; the *Spaniards* very often boarded him, but he every time drove them into their own ships, or into the Sea; Thus he defended himself all that night, with the great slaughter of his own men, but with the greater loss of the Enemy. In the morning the *English* found their
Powder

Powder fail, their Masts shot down, their Rigging torn, and the most part of their bravest men slain or wounded, and the rest so wearied with the fight, that they could hardly stand to their Arms; The ship also had received 800 shot of Cannon from the Enemy. *Greenvill* was wounded, and whilst the Chyrurgeon was applying a Plaister to the Wound, he was wounded on the head, and the *Chyrurgeon* was slain. When the day broke upon them, they found the Deck all covered with Blood, shattered Timber, dead and dying men; so that it struck terror into the beholder. *Greenvill* having now fought 15 hours, and there being no hope of escaping, commanded the ship to be sunk; the Pilot forbid it, and went forth within the Long-boat to the *Spanish Admiral* to resign the *English* ship, covenanting for their Lives and Liberties that were left in it; *Greenvill* thereupon was carried aboard the *Spanish Admiral* languishing, and just ready to expire. The *Spaniards*, when they came to fetch him off, found him lying upon the Deck all covered with Blood and Wounds, and gasping out his Soul; and they being amazed at the Resistance

stance he had made, and the Condition they found him in, endeavoured to stanch his Wounds, and applied fit Remedies to him. But all they could do or say to mitigate his Sorrows was despised by him, and he answered all their Kindnesses with Frowns and Threats; and thus living two days in the Agonies of Death, he expired. The *Spaniards*, who are a valiant Nation, were so far from being exasperated by this carriage of his, that they revered him as an *Hero*. The ship verified her Name at last, for being sent into *Spain* with 200 men on board, she perished in a storm, and all the men were drown'd: so that every way she was to them a severe *REVENGE*.

When the Queen had any small respite from the Cares of War (the far greatest part of her Reign being in truth spent in the defence of her Kingdoms, and her Neighbours, who all had their recourse to her in their Distresses) she always turned her thoughts to the amending what was amiss in the State. There were great Complaints made to her by the Ministers and Ambassadors of Foreign States residing here,

Complaints made to her of the Depredations of the English at Sea.

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Complaints made to her of the Depredations of the English at Sea.

here, That the Seas were infested by her Subjects, and the ships of her Friends and Allies rifl'd; whereupon she put out a *Proclamation for the security of her Friends; strictly forbidding all her Subjects for the future to offer any violence or wrong to the Ships of any of her Neighbours, if they did not carry Iron, Corn, or Stores for Navigation and Shipping to the Spaniards, with whom she was then in War. Threatning, that whoever was hereafter found to break her Orders, should be taken for Pyrats, and treated accordingly.* By this Proclamation, and her exact care to see it executed accordingly, she cleared the Seas, and made them as safe as the Land. The management of Proclamations in our Government is a thing of great difficulty, because they can introduce no new Law, and are of no force if they be contrary to Law; And when they are never so legal, if men are once inured to the slighting them, they are no more regarded than the whistling of the Wind in a stormy day. We have seen many Proclamations put out in our times which were extorted from Princes against their wills, or issued upon design to serve a turn for the present,

A Reflection
concerning
Proclama-
tions.

present, and the Prince well pleased to see the Bauble ridiculed and contemned; but men did not stop there, they treated other Proclamations in the same manner, which were of the greatest importance to the safety of the Prince and Nation. And all these Orders of State, which in her times were as venerable as an Act of Parliament, in Ours sunk to the value of almost a *common Ballad*, a Mischief which it will take some time perfectly to redress.

Amongst those that complained of the Depredations of the *English*, none were more clamorous than the *Hanse Towns* in *Germany*, who in the Year 1597. brought a Complaint before the Dyet of *Germany* at *Ratisbon* against the *English*, That they had rifl'd and robb'd all their ships that carried Corn, Iron and Cordage to the *Spaniards*. The Quarrel went so high, that the *English* were prohibited all Trade in *Germany*, because they traded there upon their own Laws, and not according to the Laws of the Empire. That is, that they would not submit their Trade to the Rules of the *Hanse Towns*, but traded as a free Nation under the Protection

The Hanse Towns very clamorous against the *English*.

tion of their own Queen and Laws. To this the Queen by her Ambassador Mr. *John Wroth* replied, ' That the ' Complaint of the *Hanse Towns* was ' unjust; That it became her as a good ' Prince to consult the Welfare of her ' own People, and to promote their ' safety and common advantage; and ' that it became a good Shepherd to pre- ' fer the welfare of his own Flock, be- ' fore that of any other. That the ' *Hanse Towns*, if they did well consi- ' der it, might trade upon the same ' Privileges with her own Subjects; ' but then if they expected to enjoy a ' *Monopoly* in her Kingdom, they de- ' sired more than was fit to be grant- ' ed by a just and free Prince, as she ' was. *Rodolph*, then Emperor of Ger- many, was offended with the Answer the Queen had made, and passed a Law in the *Diet*, prohibiting the English from trading in any of the Ports of Germany, and commanding them to with- draw, with their effects, by a certain day. The Queen on the other hand repre- sented the injustice of this Edict to the Emperor, and the Princes, and inform- ed them that *Henry* the III^d. her Pre- decessor, had by a Royal Charter made by

The Trade of
the English
prohibited in
Germany.

by agreement granted to the *Hanse Towns*, a place in *London* call'd the *Stillyard*, with many very large Privileges, for the preserving the Freedom of their Trade; That this Grant had after been confirm'd by *Edward III.* *Richard II.* *Henry IV.* *V.* *VI.* and all the other Princes, to her Brother's time, and had been religiously observed, and therefore she desired that the Edict might be suspended, and the Controversie ended by a Treaty; but this was denied: Whereupon the *Queen*, by the Advice of her Council, put out a *Proclamation*, commanding the *Germans* to depart from the *Stillyard* the same day the *English* were commanded to leave *Germany*; from thenceforward she put a stop to all their Trade in *London*, or any other of her Ports, and ordered the *Lord Mayor* of *London* to seize the *Stillyard*. The *Hanse Towns* called a Dyet of all their Members at *Lubek*, and in it, by way of Revenge, resolved to put a stop to the Trade of the *English* in *Poland*, and other places of the *Baltick Sea*; Whereupon the *Queen* sent *Sir George Carew*, *Chancellor* of the *Exchequer*, into *Prussia* and *Poland*, to acquaint the Dyet of that Kingdom, That

She takes away the *Stillyard* from the *Easterlings* or *Germans*.

the *Hanse Towns* of *Germany* might still have enjoyed their Ancient Privileges in *England*, if they would have been contented to use them as Favours granted by our Princes, and not have pretended they were their Right: That as there was reason for the granting them when they were given, so there was all the reason in the World they should be suspended, restrained, or quite taken away when the Reason ceased upon which they were granted; that this had been done in *Denmark*, *Sweden* and *England* in the Reigns of *Edward* the VIth. and *Queen Mary*. That the *Hanse Towns* had been made so rich by the Favour of Princes, that they had been heretofore terrible even to their Benefactors; that it became the King of *Poland* rather to favour her who was a Prince, than to patronize the insatiable Avarice of the Merchants; who when they were become very rich, were too apt insolently to lift up themselves against Princes: That the *Queen* was contented they should carry Corn, and all other Merchandize to *Spain*, except Ammunition and Warlike Stores for Sea or Land, though it was lawful, and the Practice of all Nations, to intercept

tercept all those Provisions that were sent to an Enemy. She had better success here than in *Germany*, and settled her Subjects Trade in the *Baltick* so effectually, that the *Hanse Towns* were never after in a condition to dispute the Trade of the *English*. Thus the Queen by her Authority and Prudence mastered the Obstinacy of the *Hanse Towns*, and forced them to sue for their Goods in her Court of Admiralty, and to trade with her Subjects upon equal terms in all places; and she so divided and broke their Power, that they were never since able to contest with any Prince, much less with her, or her Successors. *Notwithstanding which, the Kings of England have always religiously continued the same Privileges to the Hanse Towns, though the tide of the Trade be long since wholly turn'd, the English now carrying all that Trade to their own doors, and much more than ever they received from them; And I my self (saith the late Earl of Carlisle) was present in Council, when Charles the II^d. after his Happy Restauration ratified the said Privileges.*

Poland continues the Trade with the English.

The Embassy into Muscovy, p. 213.

She ends a
War between
the *Russians*
and *Swedes*.

She also by her Authority, in the Year 1595. composed a War which had depended many years between the King of *Sweden* and the Emperor of *Russia*, who had a greater respect for her, than for any other Prince in Christendom; her Subjects having opened a way by the *White Sea*, and the Bay of *Arch-angel*, to trade by Sea with him in the Year 1554. which was then, and has ever since been of vast advantage to that remote, barbarous, and poor Kingdom; The Subjects of which have not only been enriched, but civilized, and learned many mechanick Arts, which they did not understand before, of us, and those people we and the *Hollanders* have sent thither.

Her Laws for
the Enrich-
ing of her
Subjects at
home.

Her whole care was not imployed in defending her People from the violence of her foreign Enemies, and the Frauds and Arts of the Neighbour Traders by Sea, but she took effectual care at the same time in her Parliaments, to promote excellent and useful Laws for the *Restraint of excessive Domestick Expences*, and the regulating the *Lives* of her Subjects, as will appear by the *Printed Statutes* of her time. To this end she necessitated

ceſſitated the meaner of her Subjects, by ſharp Laws, as ſharply executed, to a mo-deſt and frugal way of living, both as to their Diet and Habits. She curbed and diſcountenanced the Luxury, and expenſive folly of the Engliſh Youth and Nobility, both by her private Advices, and her publick Laws; and ſhe preſcribed them Rules for their Furniture, Families, and Retinues. She had obſerved the Pur-

The Purvey-ers reformed.

veyers for her Court were a rapacious ſort of men, and under the colour and pretence of Law, made great depredations on the Husbandmen, and the Farmers in her Kingdom, and therefore ſhe kept a ſtrict hand upon them, and by her Severity, when ever any Complaint was brought againſt them, ſhe kept them in awe. There was another Generation of men called commonly the

As alſo the Concealers.

CONCEALERS; of mean Extra-ction, and worſe Diſpoſition; who had obtained Commiſſions to enquire into the Frauds and Concealments of thoſe that had got any Lands belonging to the Royal Demeans, or Crown of England; and they had under that pre-tence wreſted from many of her Sub-jects their Inheritances and Eſtates; but when ſhe underſtood their Crimes,

Her Severity
to her Judges
and Gover-
nors.

Usury miti-
gated.

she not only punished them for their Wrongs, but revoked their Commissions which she had formerly granted out; And by a Proclamation she forbade any further inquiry should be made into the Titles of her Subjects, as to those Lands they possessed on the behalf of the Crown, by which she put a stop to that sort of Miscreants, and secured the Estates of her People from further wrong. Whenever she found that her People had been afflicted, or ruined in their Fortunes by the *Judges and Governors* she had set over them in any part of her Dominions, she consoled them upon the first opportunity. Before her time the *Usurers* of *England* had taken what they could get from all for usury; and she to prevent the Frauds and rapacious Encroachments of these men, first passed a Law, that they should not take above *ten* in the *hundred* for one years interest, which by the plenty of Money sunk after to Six, and of late, without any Act, to five in the Hundred. To prevent enhancement of the Market, she made a severe Law against *Forestallers, Ingrossers, and Regators*, repelling their insatiable Avarice, by imprisoning, whipping, and Pillory. She called

called her *Customs* the Nerves of the Nation (as they were the best branch of her Revenues) and she made it her business to study them, and well understand the value of them, and the ways of raising them. When her *Exchequer* was at the lowest ebb, she detested all *Monopolies* and bitter Exactions upon her People, which she thought to be utterly unlawful, and tending more to the loading her with the hatred of her Subjects, than the enriching of her *Coffers*. She was very severe against all *Informers*, or *Promoters*, who having been for many Ages encouraged by her Predecessors, as the Enrichers and Improvers of the Royal Revenues, had contracted a vast envy from the whole Nation; but she was the first Prince that would suffer their Crimes to be inquired into; and finding they had been guilty of many ill Actions, she put a stop to them, and punished them for what they had done, that they might no longer impoverish the better and richer part of her Subjects. Thus she delivered her People from the grievous Oppressions of *Usurers*, *Ingrossers*, and *Promoters*. She was no less careful to protect them against the Avarice of her

The Customs
carefully
looked after.

Monopoly
suppress'd.

Informers and
Promoters
carefully in-
quired into.

She detested
multitude of
Suits.

Her Admoni-
tion to the
Judges.

Judges and Presidents; and when any of them came to wait on her, she would upon occasion speak very severely against their aspiring to those places, the multitude of Suits, and the over great variety of Causes. She encreased the Wages of her Judges, that she might deliver them at once from the temptation and suspicion of *Bribery*. She passed an excellent and a most equitable Law, for the more speedy determining the Cases depending in her Courts.

‘ She admonished her Judges, That
‘ they should consider the Judgment or
‘ Jurisdiction they exercised, was God’s;
‘ and therefore they should hear with
‘ patience, and give judgment with
‘ equity and justice, truly, and with-
‘ out any corruption. That they should
‘ diligently study the Law, and consi-
‘ der it well, and with relation to the
‘ profit of the State, and not shew the
‘ sharpness of their Wits by a falacious
‘ interpretation of a doubtful Law, to
‘ the injury of her People; but that
‘ without partiality they should admi-
‘ nister equal Justice to all, and severely
‘ punish those they found guilty. If
therefore there were any just cause of
complaint in her times, it was only
owing

owing to the Judges, who had a full liberty to have satisfied the Nation by their Fidelity and Integrity, and the Religious Observation of their Oaths; and so were not necessitated to become a Grievance to her People by Illegal Proceedings. But then all these cares shew the Corruption of the Times, and that many of the Law-Proceedings had been corrupted by the Lawyers, which made these Laws for the correction of them necessary. When she had thus restored her *Law-Courts*, her next care was to restrain the License of the *Theatre*, and she prohibited all Exercises and Plays, but what were Manly, and tended to the fitting her Subjects for War, by making their bodies more hardy and active, and their Souls more valiant. Her Divine Virtues are not to be Recompenced by Statues of Brass or Marble, which have more of Ostentation than true and solid Honour; nor are they to be Equall'd by any Commendations or Magnificent Titles; for they deserved more Lasting Monuments to be erected in the Minds and Judgments of men for an Everlasting Remembrance. And certainly Posterity will stand amazed to read and consider

The licentious liberty of the *Theatre* restrained.

sider a State so firmly established by the Greatness of her Soul and Counsels, so many Victories obtained, and such incredible things done in her Times.

The Calamities and Misfortunes that hapned in her Times.

Tho her Reign was the most glorious and happy period or space of time that had ever hapned to this Island from the *Norman* Conquest to her days; yet there were some Misfortunes and Calamities that clouded the Brightness of it. In the fifth year of her Reign there was a Plague brought out of *France* by her Soldiers from *Newhaven*, which destroyed more people in *England* than any that had happened before it. The Earthquakes that happened frequently in those times, frightened the *English* more than any other thing, they being very unusual, and attended with horrible Noises in the earth, and some Damage. The Queen was always ready to relieve any of her Subjects that had suffered by these Earthquakes, Inundations, or Fire; her Coffers were ever open to redress the Calamities of her Subjects, and to enable them to repair their Losses. When the people of *London* fell into an outrageous

ragious Tumult on the account of a Famine, and a great want of Corn, she first by her Royal Proclamation appeased their enraged minds, and then commanded the Lord Mayor to undertake the Care of supplying the Wants of the City; and she sent many Ships into the *Baltick* Sea, and to *Poland*, for Corn, which upon their return put an end to these Complaints.

She would punish the Iniquities of her Magistrates, whenever she found them guilty; but then she would defend their Lawful Power, and assert their Just Authority against ill men, with the hazard of her Life. Thus she put a stop to the Insolence of the *Londoners* when they were in the greatest Rage that was possible, by the sole Authority of her Proclamation, without any Forces. She frequently issued considerable Sums of Money out of her Treasury, for the Relief of the Poor. She took a particular care that all Religious Foundations, and places built for the benefit of the Poor, should be employed to the right uses; and that the Lands and Houses belonging to them, should for ever be preserved intire to them.

Her Care of,
and Kindness
to her good
Magistrates.

Her Care of
the Poor.

As

Her affectionate and tender Care of the Church.

As she took effectual and wise Care to heal the Wounds of the State, or Civil Government, so she well understood the Diseases of the Church were to be taken into consideration too, and to be prevented with the utmost hazard of a Prince's Personal Safety: To this end she made severe Laws against the selling Livings, the Avarice of Patrons, and the Simony of Clergy-men. She detested the giving Curacies and Preferments to those that had no Learning. She preferred honest stout men, who were well read in Divine and Humane Literature, and well acquainted with Men, and Books, and the Times, to the Dignities of the Church, and the greatest and best endowed Livings: But on the other hand, she despised all those that had neither Virtue, nor Parts, nor Learning; but above all, the dishonest, slanderous, and crafty Knaves, who were at a catch to injure others. She compelled all that were inducted into any Benefice, to swear, That they had not given nor promised any thing to any person whatsoever, directly or indirectly, on the account of that Preferment. She would not suffer any Benefice to be bought or sold; but she detested

detested the Buyer and the Seller as the worst of Plagues ; and took care to exclude them from that and all other Preferments. She was never silent or unconcerned, when unworthy and unfit men were recommended to the Dignities of the Church. The most earnest solicitations of the greatest of her Courtiers and Favourites, could in this case have no effect upon her ; and in all other things which concerned the Safety and Welfare of the Church, she took a Pious and Religious Care to place her Favours to the best advantage.

She was a Lady of Great Beauty, of a Decent Stature, and of an Excellent Shape : In her youth she was adorned with a more than usual Maiden Modesty ; her Skin was of pure white, and her hair of a yellow colour ; her Eyes were beautiful and lively : In short, her whole Body was well made, and her Face was adorned with a wonderful and sweet Beauty and Majesty. This Beauty lasted till her Middle Age, tho it declined : In her Old Age she became deformed with Wrinkles, Leanness, and fallen Lips ; so that it was hard

Her Stature
and Personal
Accomplish-
ments.

hard to believe she had ever had that Excellent Composure, and Lovely Beauty: But then, Time was able to make no change in her, as to her Majesty, her Princely Speech and Carriage; her Mind was as high, her Manners as regular, and the Course of her Life the same it had ever been. She was however so displeased to see her Beauty wear off, and her Body decline from its former Lustre, that she made herself a little ridiculous, by her taking too much notice of it. If she hapned by accident to cast her eye upon a true *Looking-glass*, she would be strangely transported and offended, because it did not still shew her what she had been. The Courtiers, who knew her humour, if she were to pass through any of the Ladies Chambers that waited on her, presently conveyed away all the Looking-glasses, and sometimes for haste broke them. To please and flatter her, they would also frequently admire her Beauty, and pretend in her greatest Age and Deformity she was still handsome and lovely. She was strangely pleased to hear the Beauty of her Face, the Sweetness of her Voice, and the Majesty and Decence of her Countenance

In her Old Age she was offended at the Decay of her Beauty.

nance still admired by others: And this gave occasion to many unworthy strokes of Flattery, and examples of Adulation. Thus the Orators of those times would too often in their Speeches vainly commemorate and celebrate the wonderful and pleasing Beauty and Shape of their Queen, and say, The Majesty of her Countenance was not at all subject to the Injuries of Time; when their eyes told them and all that saw her, the contrary; from thence they went on sometimes to tell her, She had a Soul was worthy to Rule over the whole World; and enjoyed those Favours of Fortune, and Gifts of Nature and Art, which fitted her for the Empire of the Universe: Nor were her stately Palaces and Buildings, her noble Furniture, her fine Statues, or excellent Pictures, her great Treasures, Virtues, or Felicity, forgotten on these occasions.

Adulation
sometimes
used to her.

The Flatteries of *Learned* men towards her were very base and shameful, and such as would hardly become the Stage or Theatre; for they would often apply to her that Expression of *Virgil's* as spoken of her, (*O Dea certe*)! Surely

The Flatteries of learned men noted.

ly

ly this is a Goddess! And that Sentence too which *Tacitus* marked as the utmost pitch of a wild and boundless Assentation, (*Solam D. Elizabetha mentem tanta molis capacem*), That none but the Divine Soul of Queen Elizabeth was able to sustain that Weight: By which extravagant Flatteries they would have had men think that the Name of their Queen had something of Divinity in it, and that they revered her as a Goddess which fell from Heaven. These base and pernicious Flatteries so far transported the minds of *Caligula*, *Domitian*, and *Heliogabius*, that they fell into a kind of Madness, and forgetting the frailty of their humane state, they assumed the Stile and Honours of gods, and despised all Religions, and the Providence of God. The Queen especially in the beginning of her Reign endeavoured to raise in the minds of her Subjects an high opinion of her self; and to that end she shewed her self on all occasions very Civil and Obliging to the *Many* in her Attire, Retinue, and Carriage. She always openly profess'd that she would make it her business to employ her Estate and Fortunes in the most prudent Administration of her Royal

She endeavoured at first to raise a good opinion of her self in her Subjects.

Royal Power and Authority. What-
 ever she did or said was by her design-
 ed to draw upon her self the Applause
 and Good Wills of her Subjects ; and
 by this her Moderation and Prudence
 she won the Hearts, and obtained the
 Prailes of all men. Afterwards with
 the Prosperity of her Affairs, *Flattery*,
 that old haunter of the Courts of *For-*
unate Monarchs, under the Vizer and
 Mask of Diligence, Loyalty, and Du-
 ty, gained her ear and her heart ; and
 she was pleased to see her Parasitical
 Courtiers, when they had looked in-
 tently on her, of sudden cast their
 eyes upon the ground, and craftily
 seem to shake, as if their Modesty was
 not able to bear the Greatness of her
 Majesty, and the splendor of her Hea-
 venly Eyes. And if in their common
 Intercourses with her, or their Publick
 Addresses to her, they happened to fall
 into Flattery, she never corrected them
 for it, nor forbid these indecent and
 unseasonable Flatteries. She would not
 suffer any of her Subjects, tho Parlia-
 ment-men, to speak to her by way of
 Address or Business, but upon their
 Knees, and with great submission. The
 crafty men of that Age who lay in Am-
 bush,

Which by
 degrees
 brought her
 to love Flat-
 tery.

Crafty men
wrought up
on this her
Infirmity.

The Character of

bush, made great use of this Infirmity of the Queen's, and observed not only her Words, but her Looks and Nods, and flattered her in every thing. Sir *Thomas Henage*, a *Knight*, was one of these cunning Blades, who by the basest crouching Insinuations scrued himself into her good opinion, and most intimate Familiarity; and by this means in her Court raised himself to a great Power and Estate. And besides him, there were many others who were not ignorant of this useful Art, tho they were inferior to him in Place, Fortune, and Fame. Tho many of her more sincere and hearty Friends advised her, *Not to be imposed on by the specious Pretences of obsequious Diligence and Respect*; yet she was not only better pleased with *Flattery* than *Truth*, but hated all that Liberty in her Subjects that was above this practice. A Learned man taking notice in one of his Sermons before her, That she that had been as meek as a *Lamb*, was become an *untameable Heifer*; he was reprehended by her so soon as he came out of the Pulpit, as an *over-confident man, that dishonoured his Sovereign*; as in truth that was the worst Time and Place

Place he could have chosen to Reprove her in. *Rudd, Bishop of St. David's*, a man of great Piety and Learning, discoursing once very prudently of the many Infirmities of Old Age, so provoked the Indignation of the Queen, that she would never after endure to hear him. Tho she was an utter Enemy to all Freedom of Speech, yet she very well knew how to distinguish between a *Crafty Preacher who made it his business to accomodate himself to the Opinions and Wills of his Hearers*, and a *constant, severe, and grave man*. Accordingly she ever preferr'd a Moderate and Temperate Way of Preaching, for fear her People should have been excited by such Turbulent men to excessive Insolence, and the minds of wiser men should also have been offended. In this affair she made good use of the provident Prudence of the Bishops, who deprived the over-fiery spirits of the Liberty of Preaching, and put a stop to their excessive Boldness. And this was the principal Reason why none were suffercd to Preach in her times, but such as were Licensed to do so. Yet at the same time she was a Person of great Piety, and endowed with

She understood Preaching very well, and loved Severe and Grave men.

But curbed the Fiery, Turbulent Preachers.

She loved
Religion, but
hated Factions.

the most ardent Love of Religion ; but then she did not think it was fit to suffer her Kingdoms to be embroiled by Seditious Spirits, under the Mask and Pretence of avoiding Persecution, and promoting the Service of God : And she was happy in this, that in her times those Parties that have since spread themselves over this whole Kingdom, were small and inconsiderable, and so she was under no necessity of complying with them for her own safety, but could treat them as she thought fit ; and perhaps if her two next immediate Successors had pursued the same Methods she did, there had been no Civil War in *England* ; but whilst they sought to gratifie the Princes of the *Roman-Catholick* Religion abroad, by their Lenity to the Papists at home, the Protestant Dissenters grew up here, and if they were connived at, encreased ; if they were suppressed, they turned the Envy of the Favour shewn to the Papists, upon the Government ; and easily persuaded the People, that Popery would be restored in *England*. Whether she consulted of Peace or War, she always set God before her eyes, and directed all things to his Glory. For the

the promoting Charity and Piety, she Religiously observed the stated and appointed Festivals of the Church, when she was present at the appointed Prayers, and the Sermons, both which she heard with much Devotion and Attention, but without the least mixture of Superstition. She ever received the *Eucharist* with highest Expressions of Respect, and used the Ceremonies of the Church. When she went to hear the Week-day or *Lent*-Sermons, she was ever attended by many of her Nobility of both Sexes, but without any extraordinary Splendor in her Dress or Retinue. According to the nature and circumstance of the times, she religiously and devoutly listened to the Sermons made before her; and according to the Merits of the Preachers, rarely failed to shew them her Favour, and salute and thank them before they went away. She very freely exposed her Life to the utmost hazards for the preserving the Dignity and Discipline of the Church; to which end she caused her Laws against the Papists to be constantly and regularly executed; and she shewed the same Severity against the Obstinacy of the Protestant

Her Devotion in the Publick Service of God.

She exposed her Life for the Safety of the Church.

Dissenters, whom she kept all her times under strict and sharp Restraint. I think it is not needful to shew here again to what great Perils she exposed her Life for the Preservation of the Reformed Religion.

She humour-
ed and caref-
sed the Body
of the Peo-
ple.

She shewed her self ever easie and merciful to the People, and condescended to humour them, and promote their Welfare with the utmost Humanity. By this her Clemency and Sweetness, and the Equity of her Laws, and the Proceedings on them, her Courteous Behaviour, and Obliging Speeches to them, she so intirely won their Hearts, and fixed their Affections, that without any Command of hers, of their own accord, and by an universal Consent, they every year celebrated her *Coronation-Day* with a Religious Joy: They chearfully exposed their Lives to any Danger for her Safety; and never refused to suffer or hazard any thing, if they might but enjoy their beloved Queen. Being thus secured of the Affection of her People, she lived pleasantly and securely in Peace and Plenty; and she could safely treat her Nobility, as became a Prince, when she was

was sure to be revered and obeyed ; her Authority being supported thus by the Love and good disposition of her Subjects towards her. The People honoured some of her Ministers of State too, and very much applauded them ; and upon every *New-Year's Day* freely made a present to them, to testify the grateful sense they had of the Benefits they had received by their Ministry. The People of the meanest degree had ever an easie access to the Queen, and could with the utmost freedom make their Complaints to her of any Injury they had suffered from the greatest of the Nobility ; so that it is very difficult to say, whether her Subjects most feared her Authority, or loved her Humanity and Courtesie. All these many and great Virtues, her Piety, the Love of her Kingdom, and the careful diligence she employed to win and keep the Affections of her Subjects, sprang from one and the same Fountain, her *Prudence*. This taught her how much it contributed to the Safety and Security of her State, to have her Privy Council consist of none but Wise and Faithful Men, chosen freely and prudently by her self. And

by the Authority and with the Approbation of this Council, she provided for the Government of her Border-Counties and Garisons, approved men, of good Understandings, and well Educated, who were to take care to secure her Kingdom from External Surprizes, and Internal Broils; they were directed by her to take care also of whatever tended to the Welfare of her People, and to punish what was wicked and disquieting; which they did, not only by the execution of good Laws, but also by the exemplary Lives they led.

Parliaments
frequently
held, and for
the most
part well
tempered.

The Parliaments in her time were frequent, and well tempered; the Lower House being generally chosen of Men of good Prudence, and beloved by the people, upon the opinion of their Integrity, Fidelity, and Piety: By their Advice and Assistance the Royal Authority became more resplendant; and whilst they did their Duties, she as carefully observed their Privileges, and regarded their Petitions and Advices; but if at any time they happened to transgress their bounds, and intrench upon her Authority, she would
make

make them soon sensible that they were her Subjects, as well in Parliament, as out of Parliament: And the truth is, those Notions and Practices which afterwards imbroil'd this Kingdom, and injealous'd some, and ruined one of her Successors, began to spring up in her time, and were only suppressed by the prudence and steadiness of the Queen, her wise Council, good Government, and the affection the People bore to her; so that it was not possible for Factious and Ambitious Men in her times to raise those Fears, or foment those Distrusts, that became so fatal afterwards. Though she was thus jealous of her own Regal and Sovereign Authority, by which she had the right of conferring Titles of Honour, administering Justice, &c. yet she did little of importance without the concurrence of the *Three Estates*: And they never stubbornly and generally invaded the Royal Authority, despised her Commands, or resisted her Counsels and Admonitions. Whilst she was settling the methods of her Government, she laid down this as a certain *Maxim*, which she had learned from the *English* History, and her own Ob-

Her Maxim
concerning
War and
Peace.

The Character of

Observation and Experience, *That the People of England were more governable in times of War, than in times of Peace. That the common People were hardened and made valiant by War, but by too much Peace became sloathful and dissolute, and at the same time Factionous and unquiet.* That the Nobility, if once manumised from the Labours and Perils of War, would in Peace become expensive, luxurious and effeminate. Her greater care was to know thoroughly the state of her Kingdoms; and those men that were intrusted by her to govern her People, whose Words and Actions she carefully observed. She carefully observed the Examples of her Royal Ancestors, the Publick Laws and Institutions, the Manners and Inclinations of the Common People, the Names and Abilities of her Nobility, their Publick Offices, and Private Estates, the number of her Soldiers and Garrisons, her Fleets and Forts, and whatever else had been provided for the defence and safety of her Kingdoms; her Customs, Taxes, Crown-Lands, and Revenues, and the Charges and Expence she was to make; in all which she prudently and pro-

providently altered many things for the better. She never put Arms into the hands of the meanest and poorest of the People, that their wants might not prompt them to Sedition; So that the

She would never arm the meanest of the People.

Militia in her time was generally supplied by the *Teomanry* and richer *Tenants*, who served in their own Arms.

The present Practice of employing mean people, arose upon the multiplying the Train Arms, and the overcharging men, which indeed has made them more numerous, but not so safe, considerable, or governable, as they were before, to the damage both of the Crown and People. She never ad-

vanced any to the degree of a Peer, but those that were men of worth, and whose virtue and industry had rendered them fit for it; and yet after all these Cautions, the number she created was very small. She rarely created

The Honours belonging to the Peerage, carefully given.

any man a Peer upon the solicitation or recommendation of others, or for her own fancy or humour; but when any person stood Candidate for that Honour, there was an exact and careful consideration had of the Nobility of his Ancestors, the Greatness of the Family, the Endowments of his Mind, and

Her care in
choosing good
Councillors,
Bishops,
Judges and
Ministers.

and the briskness of his Parts, of his Probity, Wisdom and Prudence, and of the strength and vigour of his Body, which might enable him to perform some good service to the Nation. *It was the rare felicity of these Times, That men were advanced to Honours without their seeking it; and sometimes against their wills, being promoted for their Virtues, not Fortunes.* She chose her Counsellors, Bishops, Judges, Ministers and Court-Officers, and her inferior Magistrates, on the single score of their Fidelity, Experience, Piety, Justice, Modesty, Prudence and Wisdom: That they being thus advanced, might exercise their Offices the more honourably and sincerely. She would often tell those she entrusted, That they might rest assured she would reward their Integrity, Industry and Equity; and if she found them guilty of any Injustice and Oppression, she would as certainly punish them for it. She would never entertain in her Service any Ignorant, Covetous, Dishonest, or Light Person. She always loved Sir *Walter Raleigh* for his great Ingenuity and Loyalty, yet he was never admitted into the Privy Council.

When

When *Burleigh*, the Lord Treasurer, had a long time solicited her to advance his Son *Robert*, a Person of great Parts, to be Secretary of State; she a great while denied it, only because he was little of stature, and hunch-backed; and she thought it a dishonour to that Board, to have a deformed Person sit amongst so many Eminent and Noble Persons; and when afterwards he attained this Honour upon the solicitation of his Father, and his other Friends, the Nobility were highly offended at it. And when after that he was, upon the death of the Lord *Buckhurst*, made his Father's Assistant in the Treasury, it so far provoked the Military men, that it proved the Ruine of the *Earl of Essex*, and it was well it ended here. The Queen being thus provided with a Wise and Noble *Council* with great care and prudence, and which were highly esteemed by her People too, as well as her self, for their virtue; she chose the most learned and uprightest of the Councillors, or Lawyers, to be her Judges, only *Hatton* excepted.

She was an exact Observer of *Justice*, which is the most resplendent of all the Moral

Her Justice,
and Veracity,
and Severity
to Offenders.

Moral Virtues, and of *veracity* or *constancy* to her Word, which is the foundation of *Justice* : She was extremely severe against all that broke her Laws, and punished sometimes small Offences with great severity. Though the *Earl of Essex* was a Person of great Fame, her particular Favourite, and had done her, and the Nation, good Services, and was the best Soldier her times bred (which were well stored with excellent Military men) yet when by the fraud of his Enemies and Flatterers, rather than his own Inclinations, he was so far transported, as to attempt to arm her Subjects against his envious Rivals, who treacherously sought his ruine; That which he expected would have turned to his advantage failing, the Queen delivered him into the hands of the common Executioner, who mangled his Body to that degree, that it enraged the people that saw it, against the Hangman, and they stoned and cursed him for it, and drove him out of the City. Soon after God took a severe account of those that had been the Procurers of this Noble Person's death; *Cobham, Gray* and *Rawleigh*, with their whole Families, were ruined within the

the space of a few years ; Sir Robert Cecil, the principal Agent in it, lived longer, but at last perished too by a long Disease, attended with Ulcers, and other painful and loathsome Circumstances; and as the Story goes, under an Hedge in the open Fields as he was travelling on the Road.

Sir John Perrot, a *Welsh* Gentleman of great Spirit, and of much fame for his Military Exploits, and his Integrity in the management of the Wars in *Ireland*; was yet of something too fierce a temper, which gave his Enemies too many opportunities to traduce and injure him. The *Lord Chancellor Hatton* was one of those who employed Spies upon him, and they catching some Expressions that fell from him in a passion, and much improving them to his disadvantage, accused him to the Queen as one that was not well affected to Her Majesty, and that had used some Expressions which tended to her dishonour; for which, and his over-stiff Contumacy, he was put upon his Trial, and being found guilty, he was condemned, and was imprisoned to the day of his death; suffering want, and

Sir John Perrot an Instance of her Severity.

and nastiness of a common Goal and the uneasiness of an afflicted and dejected mind, to see himself thus in his old Age abandon'd to the malice of his Enemies by his Mistress, whom he had served with much fidelity and courage in her Wars. His Estate also, which he had received from his Ancestors, which was considerable, and what he had gained himself, was all taken from him. The Lord *Treasurer Burleigh* was also suspected to have had a great share in the Contrivance of this Gentleman's Ruine.

Her very Severity to Offenders made her the more beloved by the People.

Her Severity, which she exerted in punishing the Disorders and Offences of her Servants, was so far from being invidious, that it made her more popular, and the better thought of by all good men. She had the utmost aversion for all contrived and malicious Murthers; so that she thought such Miscreants could never be treated too ill; and when she got them into her power, she would rarely shew them any mercy. Of this I will only give two Instances of a multitude that happened in her times, which will shorten my Work, and serve to illustrate her Justice

stice and Severity. There were two Brothers of the Family of *Davers*, who were of the degree of Knights, and men of good Estates and Reputations, and they had a quarrel with another Gentleman of equal Birth and Estate, whose name was *Long*, a man of Valour too; thereupon they resolved to murther him; and taking the advantage as he was going to set down to Dinner, they shot him in the breast. The *Queen* hearing of this Fact, was strangely enraged at it, and resolved to revenge the Villany to the utmost degree (as she ever detested all premeditated Assassinations) and she accordingly ordered the Law to pass against the two *Daverses*, and cited them to appear before her Judges to answer for it. But the two Brothers made their escape, and fled first into *France*; there they heard of the Insurrections in *Ireland*, into which Kingdom they passed, and served the Queen against her Rebel-Subjects, in hopes by some signal Acts of Valour to blot out their said Crime, and regain her Favour; And in truth they served her many years with extraordinary Fidelity and Courage against those Barbarous Rebels; yet after all,

Y

the

The Character of

the *Earl of Essex* could not obtain their Pardon without very great difficulty, and many and repeated Solicitations. The Eldest of these two Brothers afterwards lost his Life in the Service of the Queen, and under the Command of the *Earl of Essex*.

Her Justice.

In all private Suits she was observed to be a religious Observer of Justice and Equity, and to keep the Ballance even between the greatest and the meanest of her Subjects: She preserved the poorest from wrongs, and made it her care that every man might enjoy what was his own, and serve the Publick with it; by the impartiality of Justice, and the equity of all Law-proceedings, providing carefully for the preservation of Human Society, for the good of the whole Community. When any Case happened to be wrongfully determin'd, by reason of Perjury, or Interest, Partiality, or mistake in any of her Courts; she would upon complaint hear it her self, taking to her assistance men of the greatest Authority, and much celebrated for their exact knowledge of the Laws of *England*. And when she had thus sifted it to the bottom,

bottom, she would ever give a most just and wise Sentence, by which she made her Judges the more careful to keep within the bounds of Equity and Justice, and shewed her Subjects, that no part of her People should want the benign influence of her care and assistance in time of need. She always took care that her inferior Magistrates should be revered, and the Authority of her Council and Laws kept up: But then whatever had been injuriously transacted by Bribery, or Error, in any of her Courts, she as willingly corrected, that Errors might not encrease and multiply by her carelessness, or the ignorance of her Judges; and that Mistakes might not get strength by time, and plead custom. She would sometimes also cause Cases to be heard by her other ordinary Judges after they had been determined, that she might keep the ordinary Judges in awe, and make them the more circumspect, when they were liable to have their Actions scanned over again.

In her Personal Expences *she was* *thrifty and sparing*; that she might not exhaust her Exchequer, and at the

She was sparing in her personal Expences, but magnificent in her publick Actions.

same time to teach her Subjects by her own Example to live thriftily, and soberly, after the manner of their Ancestors: In her Government, and all her Publick Actions she carried all things in such manner as might best besit her Honour, and represent her to the World as a great and a splendid Prince: Nor would she at any time make any considerable expence, till she had first consulted with her *Treasurer Burleigh* concerning the state of her Exchequer, and what Monies she had to defray the same: It was then thought his Advices to her made *her more sparing than was fit toward the Sword-men and Commanders in the War*; It is certain however, that she never called *Grey, Willoughby, Norris, or Sir Francis Vere* to the Council-Table, though they were excellent Commanders, and had done her good service in *Holland, Spain, France and Ireland*, by the gaining of many signal Victories, and the spreading the Fame, and exalting the Reputation of the *English Nation*. When some of them had waisted the Estates left them by their Ancestors, and complained to her of their Poverty, beseeching her to give them wherewith
to

She was too sparing in her Rewards, especially to the Sword-men.

to pay off the Debts they had contracted in her Service, it is certain she never contributed any thing to that purpose from her *Treasure*, nor in the least assisted or favoured them in any thing. *She sought rather to encourage and win her Generals and Nobility over to Acts of Valour by her Commendations, than by the gift of Money, Lands, or Offices.* In her conversation with them she would shew them much patience and affability, and would frequently acknowledge how much they had obliged her by their Actions. But as to those that had lost their Lives in her Service, or done any great Action for the Safety, Liberty, and Glory of her Kingdom, she would often take occasion to speak of them with much affection and honour, which was the best Reward they often met with for having served her with great Industry and Courage.

When Sir *Philip Sidney*, a Gentleman of noble Birth, and honest Disposition, of great Parts, Learning, Virtue and Fame, had lost his life before *Zutphen* in the *Netherlands*, in the Year 1586. he was not only lamented by the whole Army in the Camp, and

Sir Philip Sidney much lamented.

Elegies made to his Honour by the Universities of *England*, but he was commended also by the Court, and the Queen commanded his Body to be publickly interred in *St. Paul's Church* in *London*, which was performed with much solemnity, and a vast concourse of the Nobility, Gentry, and Citizens: And it was fit all this respect should be shewed to his Memory on the score of his Virtue, Learning and Merits, which have made him so famous in those, and all the succeeding times. This is an Honour that is more lasting, and more noble, than any Statues, or Funeral Monuments, which are often destroyed by Fire, Wars, Earthquakes, or Time; and without any of these, are sometimes lost to the knowledge of men, and themselves buried in forgetfulness; but his Books and Actions will make him admired in all times. The Magnificent Funeral of this Noble Knight was an honour to the Queen, and to the Age, and even to Learning it self. The *Earl of Leicester*, who was his Uncle, was chief Mourner at his Funeral, and extoll'd the Virtue of his Nephew to Heaven, in hopes the lustre of his Pupil's Name would reflect

flect upon himself an equal commendation and glory; but in truth Sir *Philip Sidney* was his own Tutor, and gained all the glory he met with by his natural Endowments, and his Studies; and perhaps it was owing too in great part to the scarcity of Learning at that time, which made those that enjoyed it then, more conspicuous and regardable than they have been since, when it became more common; but then this latter neglect has made it less desired, and less aspired to, and almost wheeled us about to the same point of the Circle he was in.

Nor was the Queen's Favours confined only to her *Generals, and Great Men*, but she would condescend to celebrate the Memory of the *meanest common Soldier* that had had the honour to spend his life in the service of his Country, to excess. She redeemed out of Captivity those that were taken of the meaner People; and she willingly gave to their Parents, Wives and Children, that Money, and those Rewards they might justly have expected from her, if they had lived. So that she kindled in the minds of all her Subjects by her

She shewed great respect to the memory of the meanest Soldier that perished in her Service.

bounty, kindness and beneficence, an ardent desire of Military Virtue, *and in this she exceeded the most of her Predecessors.* Burleigh, though a man of great virtue and honour, too stubbornly prosecuted the Cause of the Exchequer against the Commanders of those times, and kept the Queen from shewing them that Favour, and from giving them those Rewards they had by their Virtue and Industry so well deserved; by which means he alienated from the Queen the hearts of many of the Nobility, who were men of great knowledge, valour, industry and fidelity, and had, with the hazard of their Lives and Limbs, procured hers, and the Nation's safety; and after all, in their old Age were left in poverty to struggle with the Debts and Diseases they had contracted in her Service. To this man's sordid and sparing Humour was owing the failing of all Military Virtue in the following Reigns, when men saw how rich he, and the rest of the States-men, could leave their Families and Descendents; whilst those of the greatest Generals and Commanders in the Wars, were forced to be satisfied with the gilded glory of their Ancestors, but ought in Reason

But was not liberal to the Great men, which had an ill effect.

Reason and Justice to have been at least equally rewarded, and I may say, in point of Interest too.

Yet she was not over-liberal to the Gown-men and States-men in general, nor did she take any extraordinary care of them or theirs. She had learned this Lesson of her Grandfather Henry the VIIth. *Not to exhaust in any case the Fountain of her Bounty*, I mean the *Exchequer*; which was again to be recruited by the Spoils of the People, and unusual Taxes. That Prince by his Virtue, Labour, Solitude, Thriftiness, and Provident Administration, had re-established and improved the *English Monarchy*, and the Revenues of the Crown; and was for it much esteemed by the People of *England* of all degrees; his Covetous Humour having been more beneficial to the Crown, than damageable to the Body of the People, because he gave few or none of the Crown Lands to his Followers or Servants, except when they were extorted from him by mere importunity, or he was cheated with the pretence of an advantageous exchange; but then he was also wont to give

The Praises
of Henry VII.

give more freely the Estates of Convicted Criminals; so that there are many Examples in the Rolls of his Times, of men that rose by the Falls, and grew rich by the Calamities and Ruins of others. The small Gifts, and inconsiderable *Largesses* this Prince gave when he was possessed of so much Wealth, was a means that preserved *England* from Ruin, after it had been so terribly exhausted by the Civil Wars between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*.

Her Bounty
to the Earl of
Oxford, and
some few o-
thers of the
Nobility.

The Earl of *Oxford* was one of the most Ancient Houses amongst the Nobility, but by the excessive Bounty and Splendor of the former Earl was reduced to a very low and mean condition, so that the Family was no longer able to maintain its Dignity and Grandeur: And the Queen allowed that House One thousand Pound the year out of her Exchequer, that one of the most Illustrious Houses in her Kingdom might not suffer that Want which was intolerable to those of meaner Extraction. She also upheld Sir *Edward Dyer*, an old Courtier, who was become very poor, and would not suffer him to want.

But

But as for those *Spendthrifts* and Wasters that had foolishly wasted their Patrimonies in Luxury and base Expences, to gratifie their Intemperance, and afterwards solicited her to bestow Pensions on them, she sent some of them to her Privy Council, who rejected their Petitions, and gave those Reasons for it which the Queen was not willing to give her self; and others who sought by way of Reward what they had never deserved, she neglected: That her Bounty might not encourage others to Luxury and imprudent Expences, whilst they relied upon the Crown for the Repair of what they had wastfully consumed.

And her Severity towards Luxurious Spendthrifts.

She for some time entertained, and out of her Treasury supported † *Anthony* King of *Portugal*, who was deprived of his Dominions by the Iniquity of *Philip* the II^d. King of *Spain*, and fled to her with a few Servants for her Protection and Assistance. She severely punished Sir *Richard Bingham*, President of *Connacht* in *Ireland*, who he were an excellent Soldier, because he was found guilty of a sordid and injurious Covetousness. She entertained

Her Favours to *Anthony* King of *Portugal*.

† This *Anthony* is by all confessed to have been a Bastard of the former King's.

all

all Strangers that came to her Court, with great Pleasantness, Munificence, and Decency; and when they went from her, she gave them Princely Presents.

*Ursino, Duke
of Bracciano.*

Ursino Duke de Bracciano in Italy, hearing of the Fame of this Queen, came over into *England* to see her; and he being a person of great Virtue, and descended of one of the best Families in *Italy*, the Queen gave him a splendid Reception, and gave order he should be shewn her Fleets, her Stores, and Magazines, her Veterane Soldiers and Garisons, her Treasures and Wardrobes, her Retinue and Princely Palaces, and extorted from him a Confession, That there was no where in the world a more Potent and Happy Prince than she. She entertained several of the best and greatest Noblemen of *Italy, France, Germany, and Poland*; who all said of her, *That they never saw a more Magnificent, Honourable, Loving, Courteous Prince than Queen Elizabeth; and that her Virtue and Prudence was great and admirable, above all the Examples they had ever seen, read, or heard.* In truth, she was Mistress of

of all the Virtues that belonged to both Sexes, and had none of the Faults belonging to her own, but a little *Unsteadiness in her Will.*

Knighthood in her Times was rarely given, and to none but men of Virtue and real Worth, Soldiers, and Gentlemen of good Families and Estates; so that she scarce ever admitted any man into that degree, of a mean Fortune or Extraction, as was too frequently done in after times. There were not many Enobled, or raised from the lower degrees of Peerage to higher, as *Clinton* and *Howard*, her *Admirals* at Sea, *Leicester* and *Warwick*. She made few *Barons*, and amongst them, *Burleigh*, after he had served her many years with admirable Prudence, Fidelity, and Industry, in many of the principal Offices at Court. This lowest degree of Peerage was sparingly, and with great Care and Consideration, bestowed upon Worthy Men, as a Reward of some signal Services, and an Encouragement to others, and not out of a Personal Affection or Respect. It was not then sold by men that had easily obtained the Grant of a Blank Patent, instead of

She never
Knighthood a-
ny but men
of Virtue and
good Estate.

The Peerage
well and spa-
ringly given.

of ready Money ; and took no other care, but who should give most for the Mercenary Creation ; which could only dishonour the person that gave it, as well as he that bought it. In her time none but the most Worthy, the most Valiant, the most Faithful to his Country, and the most Loyal to his Prince, could hope to obtain this Favour, and raise his Name and Family. Thus she charily and prudently kept the Rewards of Virtue and Industry, never granting them upon *Caprice* , to shew her Absolute Power, upon the Intercession of Favourites, or the Letters of Great men, to those that were mean, and neither deserved nor could maintain the Grandeur of that Noble Title.

The Noble
Order of the
Garter prudently given.

She set a high Value upon the most Noble *Order of the Garter*, and took the utmost care to keep it as the sincerest Reward of an extraordinary Fidelity, Industry, and Nobility ; and therefore she would never suffer it to be in the least corrupted by any mixture of mean persons. Tho the Lord *Burleigh* was her Principal Councillor, and the First Mover in all her greater Affairs, without whose advice she would rarely resolve upon any thing of moment

ment, and he had deserved so very well of her by his unparallel'd Care, Labour, and Vigilance; yet because he was but a Gentleman born, and a Peer of her own Creation only, it was very long before she could persuade her self to take him into the Order of the Garter, which has flourished now Three hundred years and more, and has in all times been given to the Greatest and Best of the Nobility at Home, for the best Services they could do for their Princes and Countrey; or to Foreign Princes Abroad, who were united to us by the most strict and indearing Bonds of Friendship and Interest.

She gave Governments, Magistracies, Court-Offices, and other Places of Trust, Reputation, and Profit, to those that deserved well of her, that by the example of these Rewards she might provoke others to imitate their Fidelity and Industry. She would never endure that any man she employed should raise to himself an odious or oppressive Gain, either from the Power or Office she had given him. If she observed a man to do nothing but for Money, she would never trust him; and as for any Offices or Governments, she took care

The Choice
of her Ser-
vants, Offi-
cers and Mi-
nisters.

to

to keep them as much as was possible out of such men's hands. Yet she was not too hard to, or suspicious of her Servants; she extended her Favour to all those she found good men, and her Friendship and Kindness was lasting to all those she found honest, thrifty, sober men; but then in Law-Suits she would not suffer any the least distinction to be made between her Servants and Favourites, and the rest of her Subjects, lest they being exalted by it above measure, should any way endanger the common Liberty of her People, or the Publick Peace and Safety. She raised *Sadler* from nothing; *Mildmay* and *Fortescue* from mean Fortunes to the Honour of *Knighthood*, and made them *Privy-Councillors* for their good Services; and lest that Dignity should suffer by the meanness of their Estates, she gave them a Competency by way of Addition to what they had before. She would always remember to Reward those well that had served her faithfully as her Ambassadors in Foreign Courts: And she raised many of her servants for their Fidelity, and protected others of them from the Violence of Great Men: She protected
Sir

Sir *Thomas Knevet* from the Violence of the *Earl of Oxford*, who to revenge a Wound he had received from Sir *Thomas* in a *Duel*, was mustering up all his Friends and Servants to destroy him; which the Queen prevented, by giving him a Guard for some time.

She so effectually recommended the Cause of her Bishops to her people, when they were attacked by the Clamours and Reproaches of the *Puritans*, that nothing was more dear to the Multitude than their Bishops, and no Name was more Popular or beloved than theirs, so that all men stood up for their Dignity and Authority. She curbed the Boldness, Rage, and Fury, of these Pretenders to Godliness, by Laws well and severely executed; and she made it her business to preserve the Church to the utmost of her Power, as well from the Disturbance of Seditious Preachers within, as the Insults of Declared Enemies without. Her Motto was, *Semper eadem, Always the same*; and in this affair she took the greatest care to verify it, never departing one tittle from what she had once settled, or changing the Methods she had established, but upon great reason.

Her kindness
to the Bishops
and Church-
men.

She loved Sir
F. Walsingham
her Secretary.

She had a very great Love for Sir *Francis Walsingham*, Secretary of State, who was one of the Pillars of her Kingdom, and so intent upon the Preservation of the Publick Safety, and the Discovery of the Designs of her Enemies against her Person and Government, that he took little care of his own private Family, and made no provision for those he left behind him : But then it was hardly well taken by the body of the Nation, to see the most part of his Inheritance sold after his death to repay those Moneys to the Treasury, which he had spent in the Queen's Service : The Envy of which, however, fell heaviest upon the *Treasurer* and the *Earl of Leicester*, who were none of his Friends whilst he lived, and took this opportunity to revenge the Affronts they had received from him. She had also a particular favour for Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, the *Lord Keeper* of the Great Seal, who was the Ornament of the Court, and the great Luminary of *Westminster-Hall*. She highly esteemed *Egerton* and *Popham* : But above all her other Councillors and Ministers of State, she valued *Burleigh* the Lord Treasurer, and *Howard* the Lord Admiral

Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, *Egerton*, *Popham*, but above all the Lord *Burleigh* and *Howard*.

miral of *England*, the Ornament of his own Family, and a strange Example of Modesty, Civility, and Liberality. These men enjoyed her Favour to the last, and were ever of great Authority with her.

She loved a Prudent and Moderate Habit in her private Apartment and conversation with her own Servants; but when she appeared in Publick, she was ever richly adorn'd with the most valuable cloaths, set off again with much gold, and Jewels of inestimable Value; and on such occasions she ever wore High Shooes, that she might seem Taller than indeed she was. The first day of the Parliament she would appear in a Robe Embroidered with Pearls, the Royal Crown upon her Head, the Golden Ball in her Left-hand, and the Scepter in her Right; and as she never failed then of the loud Acclamations of her People, so she was ever pleased with it, and went to the House in a kind of Triumph, with all the Ensigns of Majesty. There was at such times so great a Concourse of the People to see and salute the Queen, that many were trodden down, and some have been lamed. *The Royal Name*

Her Habit in Publick and in Private.

The Character of

was ever venerable to the English Nation; but this Queen was more sacred than any of her Ancestors. She alone was able to furnish her whole Sex with the Examples of Chastity, Temperance, and all other Vertues: And she was very vigilant to keep her Family and Court in severe Discipline. She perswaded all Married Women to pay a modest Respect to their Husbands, as to their Superiors. She kept a severer Guard upon her own desires, than upon those of others that were about her; so that by degrees she made them seem at least like her self, because she ever laboured so to have them. She banished from her Court all Drunkenness, Filthiness, Immodesty, and the very fame and suspicion of Wantonness. Whoredoms, Rapes, Adulteries, and Incests, were Crimes she detested; and if she found any of her Retinue, how great soever they were, guilty of them, they must never more come before her. She banished Burgeses, one of her Maids of Honour, because she had entred into an Intrigue with the Earl of Essex, who loved her very passionately; because the Queen suspected she had had an hand in his Ruin: And the Lady

Fitton

Fitton, another of these Maids, was sent away too, for yielding to the Inticements of a young Gentleman of Noble Birth. The Noblemen found no more favour than the Ladies, if once they were found guilty in the same kind. She sent the *Earl of Oxford* to the *Tower*, for attempting to Ravish one of her Maids of Honour, that was a Tall and Lovely Lady. If she knew any of her Nobility given to frequent Houses of ill fame, she treated them with as little Respect as she did meaner men. To conclude, she shewed her self the Irreconcilable Enemy of all that had been found guilty of any base or immodest and unchaste Action. She would frequently admonish her Servants and Attendants, 'That they should take heed not to do any thing that might be dishonourable to her, destructive to themselves, and of ill Example to the Publick. That they should take care not to bring an Ill Report upon the Chaste, a Blot upon the Upright, or an Infamy and Dishonour upon the Good.

In the Furniture of her Royal Palaces she ever affected Magnificence, and an extraordinary Splendor; she adorned

Her Furni-
ture. Publick
Libr.

ed the Galleries with excellent Pictures, done by the best Artists; the Walls she covered with Rich *Tapestries*: She was a true Lover of Jewels and Pearls, all sorts of Precious Stones, Plate, plain, Bossed of Gold and Silver, and Gilt; Rich Beds, Fine Coaches and Chariots, *Persian* and *Indian* Carpets, Statues, Medals, &c. which she would purchase at great Prices. The Specimen of her Rich Furniture was to be seen a long time after her Death, at *Hampton Court*, which was Moveable, above any of the other Royal Houses in her Times; and here she had caused her Naval Victories obtained against the *Spaniards*, to be represented in excellent *Tapestries*, and laid up amongst the Richest Pieces of her Wardrobe. These things did not only please the eyes of the Spectators, and renew the Memory of the great things atchieved in her Times, but they helped to raise in the minds of her Subjects and of Strangers too, a Venerable Idea of the Majesty, Wisdom, Riches, and Power of this Heroick Lady.

Her Diet in
Publick and
in Private.

In her Meat, Drink, and other Nourishments and Refreshments, she was very Temperate, in private especially.

She

She was not subject to the love of Sleep, or any of the other Pleasures of Human Life. She eat very little, but then she chose what was pleasant, and easie of digestion; and in her declining Age she became more Temperate than before; but then she eat whensoever she was hungry: She seldom drank above Threetimes at a Meal, and that was common Beer, and she very rarely drank again till Supper. She would seldom drink any Wine, for fear it should cloud her Faculties: She loved *Aligophora*. *Alicant* Wine above any other. She always Religiously observed the Fasting-Days. When she made any Publick Feast or Dinners for her Honour or her Pleasure, she would then order her Table to be served with all the Magnificence that was possible; and many Side-Tables to be adorned with all sorts of Plate. She had many of the Nobility which waited upon her at the Table at those times, and served her with great Care and Attention. In these things she took the greatest Pride to shew her Royal Treasures, and made her greatest Feasts when Foreign Ambassadors were present, who were highly pleased with these Shews. At these

times she would also have all sorts of Musick, Vocal and Instrumental; and after Dinner, Dancing; and she took care thus to entertain the most Illustrious Persons of other Nations, that came into *England*. Nor was she less careful that her great Ministers of State should keep up the Tables she allowed them; and she would order her Nobility to keep good Hospitable Houses according to their Qualities and Degrees. All which tended more to her Honour, and the Reputation of the Nation, than the Courses were afterwards taken up with a greater Expence.

The Splendor
and Diver-
tisements of
the Court.

The Splendor and Magnificence of the Publick Feasts in her times, and the Ceremonies that were used when the several Courses were serv'd up to the Table, would be troublesome to relate, and perhaps a little ridiculous, now they are antiquated. The Cup-bearer never presented the Cup to the Queen, but with much ceremony, and kneeled always when he gave, or took it; and during the whole Refreshment, *Musick* and *Songs* were heard, and the Queen her self would frequently dance to humour the younger Persons in her Court; for all these Solemnities were in her
Royal

Royal Palace, and were designed to adorn and sweeten her Government. The coming of the Duke of *Alenxon* into *England*, opened a way to a more free way of living, and relaxed very much the old severe form of Discipline: The Queen danced often then, and omitted no sort of Recreation, pleasant Conversation, or variety of Delights for his satisfaction: At the same time the plenty of good Dishes, pleasant Wines, fragrant Ointments and Perfumes, Dances, Masques, and variety of rich Attires, were all taken up, and used, to shew him how much he was honoured. There were then acted Comedies and Tragedies with much cost and splendor; *From whence proceeded in after-times an unrestrainable desire of frequenting these Divertisements; so that there was afterwards a greater concourse at the Theatre, than at the Sermon.* When these things had once been entertained, the Courtiers were never more to be reclaimed from them; and they could not be satiated, or wearied with them. But when *Alenxon* was once dismissed, and gone, the Queen her self left off these Divertisements, and betook her self, as before,

fore, to the care of her Kingdom : And by her own Example and severe Corrections, she as heartily endeavoured to reduce her Nobility to their old severe way of living, and the former provident way of cloathing.

Her private
way of living.

In her private way of living she always preferr'd her necessary Affairs, and the dispatch of what concerned the Government, before, and above any Pleasures, Recreations, and Conversation; and serious things before what was pleasing. In the morning she spent the first fruits of her time in her Closet at her Devotions, and then she betook herself to the dispatch of her Civil Affairs, and to the reading of Letters, and the ordering what Answers should be returned; then she considered what was fit to be brought before the Lords of the Council; she ever kept a vigilant eye upon the Motions of *Philip II.* King of *Spain*, who was all her days plotting and contriving the Conquest of *Europe*, and the reducing all his Neighbours and the Free-States, and Cities of it, under his obedience. She ever consulted first with her wisest, and best experienced Ministers and Statesmen, of whose Fidelity, Industry and Ability,

Ability, she had formerly made good proof; and she commanded them to speak freely and plainly what was best to be done; and when she had heard the Advices of all, she chose what she thought was best. When she had thus wearied her self, and oppressed her Spirits, she sought for rest and peace; and would either walk in a shady Garden, or pleasant Gallery, without any other Attendance, than that of a few Learned Men. Then she took her Coach, and passed in the sight of her People to the Neighbouring Groves and Fields, and sometimes would hunt, or hawk, spending in her Youth all her time in this change of Labour, or innocent Divertisement. Nor was she less careful to exercise her mind in Learning, than her body by Labour; but by a wise distribution of her time, she consulted the good and welfare both of Body and Soul. There was scarce a day in her life, but she employed a part of it in reading and study; sometimes before she entered upon her State-affairs, and sometimes after them; so that by this means she gained a part of every day for her self; and the improvement of her own Faculties. In her Studies she
mixed

Her Summer
Progress, and
carriage to-
wards her
People in it.

mixed pleasing and serious things one with another. In the Summer she for the most part lived in the Countrey; then she took her Royal Progresses into the several Counties of *England*, and she would amuse her self with considering and commending the pleasantness and goodness of her Countrey, and the greatness and variety of the Fruits *England* produced; she would also admire the Wisdom and Goodness of God in diversifying the face of the Earth by the mixture of Fields, Meadows, Pastures and Woods; and she would, as occasion offered, hunt too. In all this she was intent upon that which was her main business, the government of her People, the management of her Family, and of her Revenues, and the observing the state and condition, the carriage and designs of the Neighbour States and Princes; which way soever she went, she was sure to draw upon her the eyes of her People: Innumerable crowds of them met her in all places with loud hearty Acclamations, with Countenances full of joy, and hearts equally filled with love and admiration, and this ever attended her in publick, and in private; for what sight in this
World

World can possibly please Mortals, like that of a just, beneficent, and kind Prince? So that those Places were accounted the most happy, in which, for the goodness of the Air, or the pleasantness of the Fields, she was pleased to stay the longest. *In her Progress she was the most easie to be approached; Private Persons, and Magistrates, Men and Women, Countrey people and Children, came joyfully, and without any fear, to wait upon her, and see her. Her ears were then open to the Complaints of the afflicted, and of those that had been any way injured. She would not suffer the meanest of her People to be shut out from the places where she resided, but the greatest and the least were then in a manner levelled. She took with her own hand, and read with the greatest goodness the Petitions of the meanest Rusticks. And she would frequently assure them, that she would take a particular care of their Affairs; and she would ever be as good as her word. She by her Royal Authority protected those that were injured and oppressed: She punished the Fraudulent, False, Perfidious and Wicked. In all this variety of Affairs she was able to keep her temper, and appear with an equal and*
unin-

uninterrupted serenity and humanity to all that came nigh her ; *She was never seen angry with the most unseasonable, or uncourtey Approach : She was never offended with the most impudent or importunate Petitioner.* There was no commotion to be seen in her mind, no Reproaches, no Reprehensions came from her. Nor was there any thing in the whole course of her Reign that more won the hearts of the People, than this her wonderful facility, condescension, and the strange sweetness and pleasantness with which she entertained all that came to her. Thus for the most part she spent her Summer.

The Winter
she spent in
London.

She spent her Winter in *London* in the procuring the safety of her People, and that of her Allies and Confederates. Before day every morning she heard the Petitions of those that had any business with her ; and calling her Secretaries of State, and Masters of Requests, she caused the Orders of Council, Proclamations, Patents, and all other Papers relating to the Publick, to be read, which were then depending ; and gave such order in each Affair as she thought fit, which was set down in short Notes, either by her self, or her Secretaries. As
often

often as any thing happened that was difficult, she called her great and wise men to her, and proposing the diversity of Opinions, she very attentively considered and weighed on which side the strongest reason lay, ever preferring that way which seemed most to promote the publick safety and welfare. When she was thus wearied with her morning work, she would take a walk, if the Sun shined, into her Garden, or otherwise in her Galleries, especially in windy or rainy Weather. She would then cause *Stanhop*, or *Sir Henry Savill*, or some other very learned Man to be called to walk with her, and entertain her with some learned Subject; the rest of the day she spent in private reading History, or some other Learning, with great care and attention; not out of ostentation, and a vain ambition of being always learning something, but out of a diligent care to enable her self thereby to live the better, and to avoid sin; and she would commonly have some Learned Man with her, or near her, to assist her; whose Labour and Industry she would well reward: Thus she spent her Winter.

In.

Her Diet in
Summer and
Winter.

In the Summer time, when she was hungry, she would eat something that was of light and easie digestion in her Chamber, with the Windows open to admit the gentle breezes of wind from the Gardens, or pleasant Hills. Sometimes she would do this alone, but more commonly she would have her Friends with her then. When she had thus satisfied her hunger and thirst with a very moderate repast, she would rest awhile upon an *Indian Couch* curiously and richly covered. In the Winter-time she observed the same Order, but she omitted her Noon-sleep. When her day was thus spent, she went late to Supper, which was ever sparing, and very moderate. At Supper she would divert her self with her Friends and Attendance; *and if they made her no answer, she would put them upon mirth and pleasant discourse with great civility.* She would then also admit *Tarleton*, a famous Comedian, and a pleasant Talker, and other such like men, to divert her with Stories of the Town, and the common Jest, or Accidents; but so, that they kept within the bounds of modesty and chastity. In the Winter-time, after Supper, she would some
time

time hear a Song, or a Lesson or two plaid upon the Lute; but she would be much offended if there was any rudeness to any Person, any reproach or licentious Reflection used. *Tarleton*, who was then the best Comedian in *England*, had made a pleasant Play, and when it was acting before the Queen, he pointed at Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, and said, *See the Knave commands the Queen*; for which he was corrected by a Frown from the Queen; yet he had the confidence to add, that he was of too much, and too intolerable a power; and going on with the same liberty, he reflected on the over-great Power and Riches of the Earl of *Leicester*, which was so universally applauded by all that were present, that she thought fit for the present to bear these Reflections with a seeming unconcernedness. But yet she was so offended, that she forbad *Tarleton*, and all her Jesters, from coming near her Table, being inwardly displeased with this impudent and unreasonable Liberty. She would talk with Learned Men that had travelled, in the presence of many, and ask them many Questions concerning the Government, Customs and Discipline used abroad. She loved a

Her Diversions and private Conversation.

natural Jester, that would tell a Story pleasantly, and humour it with his Countenance, and Gesture, and Voice; but she hated all those Praters that made bold with other mens Reputation, or defamed them. She detested, as ominous and unfortunate, all Dwarfs and Monstrous Births. She loved *Little Dogs, Singing Birds, Parrots, and Apes*: And when she was in private, she would recreate her self with various Discourses, a game at Chess, Dancing, or Singing. Then she would retire into her Bed-chamber, where she was attended by married Ladies of the Nobility, the Marchioness of *Winchester*, then a Widow, the Countess of *Warwick*, and the Lord *Scroop's* Lady, whose Husband was Governor of the *West Marshes*. She would seldom suffer any to wait upon her there, except *Leicester, Hatton, Essex, Nottingham*, and Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, who were more intimately conversant with her than any other of the Courtiers; She frequently mixed serious things with her Jest, and her Mirth; and upon Festival Days, and especially in *Christmas-time*, she would play at *Cards and Tables*, which was one of her usual Pastimes; and if at any time she happened

pened to win, she would be sure to demand the Money. When she found her self sleepy, she would take her leave of them that were present with much kindness and gravity, and so betake her to her rest; some Lady of good quality, and of her intimate acquaintance, always lying in the same Chamber. And besides her Guards, that were always upon Duty, there was a Gentleman of Good Quality, and some others; up in the next Chamber, who were to wake her in case any thing extraordinary happened.

Though she was endowed with all the Goods of Nature and Fortune, and adorned with all those things which are valuable, and to be desired; yet there were some things in her that were capable of amendment; nor was there ever any Mortal, whose Virtues were not eclipsed by the neighbourhood of some Vices or Imperfections. She was subject to be vehemently transported with Anger; and when she was so, she would shew it by her Voice, her Countenance, and her Hand. She would chide her familiar Servants so loud, that they that stood afar off, might sometimes hear her Voice. And it was reported, that for

She was subject to be violently angry.

small Offences she would strike her Maids of Honour with her hand; but then her Anger was short, and very innocent, and she learned from *Zenophon's Book, Of the Institution of Cyrus*, the method of curbing and correcting this unruly and uneasie Passion. And when her Friends acknowledged their Offences, and humbly begged her pardon, she with an appeased mind easily forgave them many things.

Her Severity,
and especially
to the Queen
of Scots.

She was also of an Opinion, That Severity was safe, and too much Clemency was destructive, and therefore in her Punishments and Justice she was the more severe. The worst thing that she did in all her Reign, was her treatment of the Queen of Scots, who being by her own Subjects driven into Exile, and not only deprived of her Regal Authority, but of her Liberty, her Estate, and her Treasures; and coming poor and distressed into *England* upon the Queen's promise and faith given, she at first kindly and hospitably received and entertained her; but afterwards confined her, and at last, upon pretence that the Queen of the Scots was plotting against her, put her upon her trial, condemned, and at last executed

red her, making her a sad, and unheard-of Example of her cruel and unjust Severity. Thus she polluted her happy Reign with the Innocent Blood, not of an Enemy, but of a Guest: The memory of old Disgusts and Injuries prevailing more upon the mind of *Queen Elizabeth*, than the dignity of a Sovereign Queen, the Intercession of the Neighbour Princes, the Laws of Hospitality, the Tears of a Captive, and a Kinswoman; so that no Intercession, no Supplications could take any place in a mind inexorably bent upon Revenge. They that would excuse this mournful Action, pretend the *Queen of Scots* was only confined to prevent mischief; but she entering into a Conspiracy against the *Queen of England* in her own Kingdom, and her Designs against the Life and Throne of *Queen Elizabeth* being thus detected, there was no other way left to preserve the Life, and consult the safety of *Queen Elizabeth*, but by the punishment of the *Queen of Scots*, and others, who had conspired to destroy her. That all Precautions were in vain, and therefore it was absolutely necessary to cut off this Guest, though her Cousin, and the next Heir after her of

the Crown of *England*; and one, that by her deprivation of her Kingdom, and her Imprisonment in *England*, was deprived of all means to hurt her. If she would have taken the right method to secure her self, she should have released her Captive, and have sent her away, which would have cut off the Causes, and the Pretences of these Conspiracies, and have tended more to her honour and peace, than the way she took. This Execution of the Queen of the *Scots* raised in the minds of the Neighbour Princes an enraged Indignation. And she her self, when she knew the Fact was done, and could not be recalled, deplored the *united and common Indignation of all the Foreign Princes with many tears, and gave many signs of her inward grief, laying the blame of this wicked action wholly upon the Actors; and upon every mention of the death of the Queen of Scots, she would to her dying day weep bitterly, and lament her misfortune in it.* So great was the force of her Repentance, tho it came too late, and was altogether useless.

Her Severity
to Leicester
and Hatton.

It was thought she brought *Leicester* and *Hatton*, two of her greatest Favourites, to their Graves, by her hard usages, and the many Indignities she put

put upon them. *Leicester* had offended her, by attempting to imbroid the Affairs of the *United Provinces* in the *Netherlands*; to that end he had suffered his Soldiers to live very irregular, and without almost any Military Discipline, and this in a State the most closely united to her; and he had ambitiously affected the Power of a Lieutenant-General in *England* and *Ireland*; which *Burleigh* represented to the Queen as intolerable; and thereupon she became so incensed against him, that she brought him to a Despondence of Mind, which ended in his Death; the Queen declining all Reconciliation, that he might be an Example to all others to consult their own and the Publick Interest better than he had done, and not aspire like him to too great and dangerous Honours. Upon this Repulse he resolved to retire into the Countrey, and to live remote from the Court, at *Killingnorth*; but on the Road he fell into a violent Feaver, which brought him to his Grave. He left a Brother behind him, who was Earl of *Warwick*, and had the Character of a good man from his Enemies; and he succeeded him in the Estate,

but did not long enjoy it. He left also a Son who laid Claim afterwards to the Earldom of *Leicester*, but he was then very young, and not owned as Legitimate. When the Queen heard of the Death of *Leicester*, she could not forbear grieving at it: She ordered, however, his Personal Estate to be seized for Money due to the Exchequer from the deceased Earl; but she got little by it, the Creditors and others by various Stratagems, and on various Pretences, drawing it out again.

*Hutton's
Death.*

Hutton was a very good Dancer, and that was his best Qualification, and was the means of promoting him to be *Lord Chancellor of England*. Being in that high and undeserved Station, he became proud and arrogant, and at last began to favour the Popish Party more than the Queen thought well of. The Queen thereupon told him, That he was too much exalted by the Indulgence of his Fortune, which had placed him in a Station for which he was unfit, he being ignorant of the Chancery-Law, and needing the Assistance of others to enable him to do his Duty. This Reproach struck him to the heart, and he resolved to admit no Consolation.

tion. When he was almost half-dead, the Queen repented of her Severity, and went her self in Person to comfort the Dying Chancellor, and did what was possible to retrieve him; but it was all to no purpose, for he was obstinately resolved to dye. His Brother's Son succeeded him in his Estates and Goods, (he dying a Batchellor) and raised a Family upon this Foundation; and the Queen did not exact from him the Debts due to the Exchequer, whether out of Respect to the Deceased, or Favour to the Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*, whose Niece this Gentleman had Married.

As the Queen was by Nature severe, so she did not want the utmost Provocations to exert her Natural Temper: For there was in all her Reign a Chain of Conspiracies detected, which were so outrageous and wicked, that they exceeded by their Cruelty and brutish Ferity all measures, and seemed to deserve and call for Severity in her punishing of them; she was also exasperated by Rebellions and Insurrections in both her Kingdoms, and by most infamous Libels published without any Author's Name, against the Cruelty of this Prince, with the Infamy of them

The Provocations she met with were many and great.

them that writ these Books. The Reproach of Cruelty would not fix upon her, tho they did what was possible to defame her, because all men thought the Actors and Leaders in these horrible Treasons and Rebellions, deserved all the Punishments and Severities she inflicted on them for their Crimes. However it is apparent, That in her Reign many of the Nobility were put to Death, some of the most Noble Families were ruined, and that the *Roman*-Catholicks were punished, banished, or forced to flye into Foreign Countries to escape those Punishments they had drawn upon themselves by their restless endeavours to undermine her Throne, and subvert her Government, or to destroy her Person. After all, some of these Papists, out of a spirit of Slander and Detraction, and a desire to gratifie the Pope and his Party, laboured by all ways that they could invent, to have her thought a Cruel and a Bloody Princess, and with the utmost Impudence represented her as such in their Pamphlets, tho she was forced to this Severity by their great and repeated Villanies.

There were some that with an unsufferable

sufferable Rashness charged her with Unchastity; The principal of which was *Nicholas Sanders*, one of the basest and wickedest Slanderers, and of the most hellish and incurable Malice that ever was born. This Fellow forgot all Modesty, and not content with the defaming her Mother, and the reviving all those Slanders against her, which had before his time been sufficiently detected and disproved, or were forgotten, he went on to slander and defame the Queen too; and to that end invented very many lewd Stories, and most infamous Satyrs against her and her Ministers, endeavouring to have the World believe she was guilty of Rapine, villanous Lusts, and intolerable Frauds for the Subversion of the *English* Nation. But the Modesty and the incredible Chastity of her Life, easily dispelled all these black and noisom Slanders and Reproaches; her worst Enemies having never been able to discover the least shadow of Luxury or Unchastity in all her Life; which was so pure and so spotless and unblamable, that it is very hard to believe she was a Mortal. This her rare Temperance and Continence put a stop to the Lyes
and

The Character of *Sanders* and others who defamed her.

and Defamations of this abominable Slanderer, and made all men despise him and his Writings. Nor did he so escape the Justice of God, which pursued him for this and his other Crimes, and before his Death deprived him of his Reason and Understanding, and banishing him from the Conversation of men, he perished in a desolate place in *Ireland*, after he had a long time struggled with Hunger and Cold, and endeavoured to preserve himself alive with the Roots of the Herbs that naturally grew in those Woods he lurked in; nor was there one Friend to cover his Carcass with a little earth after he was dead, but it was found by the *English* in the Woods, and left a Prey to the Wild Beasts; all men rejoicing that the Justice of God had thus shewn it self in the Punishment of this infamous Slanderer, and Impenitent Rebel.

Dydimus Veridicus.

Another virulent Slanderer printed a Book, under the Title of *Dydimus Veridicus*, being infected with the same contagious distemper of Lying, and presumed to pollute the ears of men with most wicked Discourses, and to attempt the Ruin of the Fame of a most Noble Princess, which was supported

ported by the united Approbation and Praises of Mankind. He invented many absurd, false, and incredible things, that were like the fained Representations of Poets and Painters, so that they appear false at first sight, and only serve to shew the liberty he took of Lying notoriously; so that he may be left without any answer, to receive his Confutation from the Prudence of the Reader.

Florimond Remond, another indiscreet Writer, transcribes the Defamations and Lyes which *Sanders* had invented, and sets down without any Truth, the Imprisonments, Tortures, Punishments, and Ignominies of the Papists: He impudently writes, That the Publick Places and Streets were walshed with their Innocent Blood; that the Priests were tormented, the Matrons slain, the Layicks hurried away to Death and Tortures; forgetting or dissembling, that in the short Five years Reign of *Queen Mary*, there were more innocent Protestants burnt alive without Mercy, than suffered in all the Forty four Years of that of *Queen Elizabeth*, tho convicted of the greatest Crimes, and executed upon the most

Florimond Remond, a French Writer.

most Just and Legal Prosecutions, *viz.* For disturbing the Peace of the Nation, by Insurrections, Tumults, and Rebellions, for entring into Conspiracies, joining with Foreign Enemies, or abetting and concealing Domestick Treasons and Traitors, or for endeavouring to Murder the Queen. The Moderation and Justice of the Queen has covered these passionate and false Scriblers with Infamy and Contempt, and it were lost labour to endeavour to refute them.

George Cone, a
Scot.

Nor ought *George Cone*, a *Scot*, to be passed over in silence, who in his *History of the Life of Mary Queen of the Scots*, has persecuted the Memory of *Queen Elizabeth* with a rapid Fury. He saith impudently, That she was born in an Incestuous Marriage, and got the Possession of *England* by Force; which Expressions were the effects of a Flattering Affection to the Interest of the Popish Party, and of Aversion for that of the Protestants. These Treatments induced the Queen to be very severe against all Libels and Verses penned to the end to blacken the Reputation of any man; which she forbid any to read or divulge; and she ordered them

them to be burnt: And she extended this her Severity to all Rumors and Reports that were spread abroad underhand, for fear her People should by these means be excited to Rebellions or Seditions.

Whilst her Forces in *Ireland* under the Command of the Lord *Montjoy*, Her last Sickness. were struggling hard with *Tyrone* for the Reduction of *Ulster*, and *Tyrone* was reduced to a necessity of submitting himself to her, which would have ended in the quieting of that Kingdom, the Queen was involved in an uncurable and grievous Disease, arising from the Greatness of her Age: She spent many Nights sadly and restlessly, without any sleep, in much Anxiety and troublesome Cares; her Stomach being wholly weakned and decayed, loathed all sorts of Diet; till at last the Anguish of her Troubled and Afflicted mind, made her despair of a Recovery; so that *she despised the Counsels of her Physicians, and became exasperated and stubbornly resolved against all Medicines.* The most powerful and considerable of her Friends who waited upon her night and day, and did all they could to console and please her, when they

they saw the muttering Discontents of her Physicians, and considered seriously the uncertainty of the Event which might follow this Sickness of Body and Mind, and the Imbecility of human Nature, they became anxious, and most earnestly besought her, That she would curb this Disturbance and Grief of her mind; that she would for the present not fill her mind with the Arguments of Learned men against the Fears of Death, tho they had the shew of Wisdom; that she would consult her own Reason, and endeavour the Preservation of her Life, and the Recovery of her former Health: That she would not encrease her Danger by Despondency, or her Distemper by her Obstinacy against all Medicines; but that she would be pleased to yield to the Perswasions of her Physicians, and follow their Advices, Eat, and endeavour to overcome her inward grief with Patience: Lastly, That she would be pleased to value and endeavour to preserve her own Life, and deliver her Loyal and Faithful Servants, Nobility, and Subjects, from that Anxiety and Sorrow that now oppressed them. She made no other Answer to all this Wife
and

and Loyal Advice, but *That ſhe was full ſatiated with this preſent Life, and now deſired nothing more than to be tranſlated to a ſtate of Immortality, and to make her eſcape out of this dark and diſordered ſtate of human Affairs. That Death, which many ſo much abhorred, was only the payment of a Debt due to Nature; and that our Spirits were of right to be reſtored to God from whom they came.* Thus her Body by ſlow degrees conſumed away, and ſhe became very Lean, Weak, and Faint. Yet after all, her Mind was more afflicted than her Body; *She was night and day troubled with a ſorrowful Remembrance of the late executed Earl of Eſſex.* The Grief of her Mind was encreaſed by the Neceſſity of her Affairs, which compell'd her to yield to Tyrone, not only his Life and Liberty, and the Pardon of his Rebellions and Perfidy, but a great part of his Eſtate; which ſhe eſteemed a kind of rewarding him for his Treasons and Perjuries.

Her Sorrows were every day increaſed. and made more ſupportable, by the Melancholy Humour which then abounded in her Blood, and the reſtleſſneſs of her Mind; ſo that all her Strength being exhausted, and her

Her laſt Words to her Council.

She nominated her ſucceſſor.

Mind, which was filled with Indignation, contributing more and more to the Disease, she seemed to decline apace by the Weakness which augmented every day, yet she bore this her last Sickness with a wonderful Constancy and Patience, which alone deserved very great Commendation. When some of the principal Nobility of *England*, the Lord Admiral, the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and one of the Secretaries of State, in the Name and by the Order of the Privy Council, told her Majesty, That it was their humble Request, That she would, if not for her own sake, yet for the good of her People, throw off that load of Grief which oppressed her, and lay aside the Resolution of dying: That if she should happen to dye by the course of Nature, in the present Circumstances of Affairs, it would bring Ruin upon *England*: That they had no hopes of any Prosperity after her Death, unless the Certainty of the Succession were fixed by her. If she should leave this to be determined after her Death, in that flagrant desire men had of obtaining the Sovereignty, there might many ill things be done and suffered, which would augment the Sorrows of her

her People for the loss of so good a Prince: Therefore they most earnestly, and with one Voice, and united Tears and Sighs intreated her, That in her present Circumstances she would take care of the Common Safety of her People after her Death; and that she would be pleased to remember, That so many of the Lives of her Subjects would be exposed to the utmost hazard if she died without Naming her Successor. To which she lovingly and modestly replied, *That if she died of this sickness, the Kingdom would not want a Defender, but would be in the same state of quiet.* Nottingham, the Lord Admiral replied, *Whom do your Majesty mean?* She looking thereupon steadily on all that were then present, said, I mean James King of Scotland, my Dearest Kinsman, and the Right Heir to Henry the VIIIth. This cheered all that were present, and she persisted constantly in this to her last Breath, That he was her undoubted Heir.

When she had said this, and recommended her Name and Memory to her Nobility, she cast off all the Cares of this Life, and betook her self wholly to the acts of Piety and Devotion; she

She spent the last Moments of her Life wholly in Devotion.

Her last
Words to the
Archbishop.

sent also for the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, a Learned, Pious, and Moderate Prelate, who was then the Guide of her Conscience, and whose Salutary Advices she always much esteemed and gladly embraced. When this great and good man came to her, he admonished her to consider the Imperfection of the Human Nature, and therefore advised her to place all her Hopes in the Merits of Christ. She replied with some difficulty of breathing or speaking, That *she was weary of this miserable Life, which was subject to so many Calamities and Dangers: That from her Soul she desired to pass to that Eternal Light which overflowed with all manner of Felicity; and was hastning to her Heavenly Countrey, to the Presence of her good Saviour, and into his holy Arms.* When the Bishop had ended his prudent and holy Exhortation, she turned her a little, and laying her Head upon her Right Arm, she composed her self as it were to her Last Long Sleep, with a Quiet Mind, and a Composed Countenance; nor were her Last Moments unlike the rest of her Life, but it appeared by the motions of her Hand and Eyes, that they were spent in the acts of Devotion and Mental Prayer.

Thus

Thus being at last wholly spent, she quietly yielded up her Soul to God, the 24th. of *March*, about Midnight, in the year of our Lord 1602. in her Palace of *Richmond*, and in the same Chamber *Henry* the VIIth. her Grandfather died in. She called this Royal Palace the Warm Box to which she could best trust her sickly Old Age; and she was now come hither to avoid the over-sharp Winter. She was a little less than Seventy years of Age, and she had Reigned Forty four Years, Four Months, and Seven Days. Thus died this Illustrious Queen, which was not only the Greatest and the Best Woman of the times in which she lived, but equal, if not superior, to any of her Predecessors, in the Majesty of her Name, or the Reverence that was paid to her by her Subjects and Neighbours; in the Art of Governing; in all the commendable Qualities of a Prince, such as Council, Policy, Magnanimity in Misfortunes, Moderation and Temperance in Prosperity, Constancy in her Behaviour, Maxims, Friendship, and Resolutions; and accordingly the Glory that followed her, and the Actions of her Reign was Incomparable. She was lamented by them that then lived,

And her Death.

lived, with an unfeigned and an unexpressible Grief; and the Memory of her Virtue, Learning, and Piety, has remained fresh and flourishing in all the following Times, and shall do so for ever. Her Words and Actions are in truth such as will render her Immortally Honourable, be the Abilities of the Historians that shall truly represent the same what they will.

The Sorrow
for her
Death.

So soon as it was known that she was dead, the Court was filled with the Lamentations and sorrowful Sighs and Tears of her Courtiers and Subjects, as for the greatest Loss that ever befel any men. There was never any where a greater, a sincerer, a more inconsolable Grief, than that which then took possession of this Royal Palace; nothing could stop the torrent of their Tears, nothing could appease or soften their bitter Complaints. The Noble Ladies which by the Order of the Privy-Council were appointed to take Care of her Body, were scarce able to bear the load of their Sorrows which oppressed them, but lifted up their Hands and Eyes to Heaven, and implored the Mercy of God in this their Desolations and Affliction; concluding, without his powerful Assistance, and
favour-

favourable Interposition, *This Night* would prove fatal to the *English* Nation; and that nothing less than the Ruin of the Kingdom, could be the consequence of so great and so deplorable a Loss as this. The Countess of *Warwick*, a Lady of great Honour, Virtue, Piety, Sanctity, and intirely beloved by the Queen, testified her sorrow for the loss of her Mistress in all the effects of an inconsolable Affliction, and would never be induced to put off that mourning Habit she had put on upon this occasion. She performed all the Offices belonging to the Sepulture of the Queen with the utmost care, piety and fidelity, and by her Example taught all the rest of the Queen's Servants how they ought to behave themselves in this Mournful Affair. Those of the Noblemen who were present at the time of her death, expressed their Sorrows in silent tears, and a deep, but grave sorrow. The meanest of her Servants were more noisy in their Lamentations, and that Court became in a few hours a desolate place, very few induring to stay in that place in which they had lost their good Mistress, beneficent Sovereign, and their great Benefactor.

When

When Report had once spread the News of her Death in the City of *London*, an incredible Sorrow and Lamentation both of the Citizens and Strangers was observed, which spread it self to all the Neighbour Nations, as the fame of her Death was communicated to them. But none more heartily deplored this loss than the *HOLLANDERS*, who were thereby deprived of the *Author of their Fortunes; the Defender of their Liberty, and the Preserver of their Peace and Safety.* A Prince she was, that would refuse no Labour, no Expence, no Hazard, how great soever it were, that the *Protestants* might live in peace, and enjoy their Liberty; and this and the many good Offices she had done to them and all the Neighbour Nations, had made her Name so venerable, that it was no easie Task for the Magistrates at home, or abroad, to keep the common People in any bounds in this their outrageous Sorrows; for almost all that heard it were of Opinion, That worse Times would follow, and that many and great Calamities would ensue in *England*, and all the Neighbour Nations.

T H E E N D.

TITLE THE CHARACTER OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

AUTHOR BOHUN, EDMUND. **DATE** 1693.

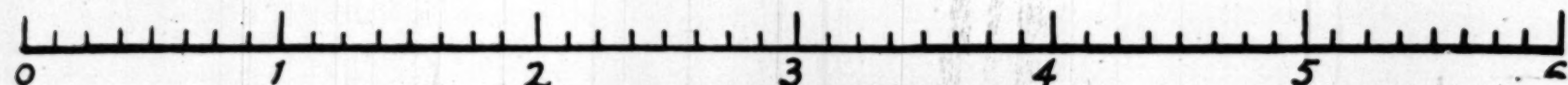
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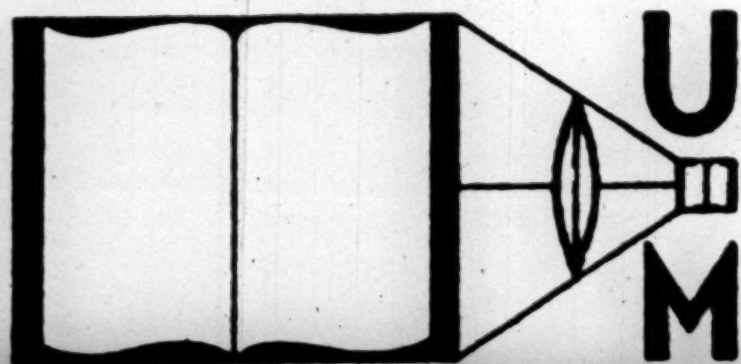
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